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**ENGLISH, AND INTERNATIONAL
CROSS-CULTURAL ATTITUDES IN
CHINA, JAPAN AND SOUTH KOREA**

DANIEL O. WHITE

PhD

2013

**ENGLISH, AND INTERNATIONAL
CROSS-CULTURAL ATTITUDES IN
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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the University of
Northumbria at Newcastle for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Research undertaken in the School of Design,
Arts and Humanities

October 2013

Abstract

The findings of language attitude studies amongst learners of English have consistently demonstrated that native speakers of English are accorded higher evaluations in terms of status/prestige, whereas non-native speakers of English are often rated high in terms of social attractiveness/solidarity. For the majority of language attitude studies, the inclusion of native speakers of English in speech evaluation experiments has served as useful for investigating the complex attitudes towards English speech among English language learners. However, over the past two decades there has been a growing argument that the unprecedented spread of English language learning has led to questions over the ownership of the English language and the functions for its study, with many arguing that English is no longer learned primarily to communicate with native speakers of English, but as a means to communicate between those that do not share the same first language. Despite this, few studies have focused solely on attitudes held by English language learners in the expanding circle towards one another. Moreover, informants in language attitudes studies amongst English language learners have often been limited to informants of homogenous national groups, thus making direct comparisons between the multitudes of language attitude studies across national groups difficult.

The present study surveyed 554 university students in China, Japan and Korea to investigate the perceptions towards five non-native English speakers from Asia, comprising of three speakers from expanding circle countries (China, Japan, Korea), and two speakers from former English-speaking colonies (Hong Kong, India). The present study utilized mixed methodologies that measure implicit and explicit attitudes popularised in the fields of sociolinguistics, social psychology and folk linguistics. A verbal guise experiment was used to measure implicit attitudes towards the five speakers, in addition to an adapted perceptual dialectology experiment to measure explicit attitudes towards Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups.

Results demonstrated that the Indian and the Japanese speakers of English were evaluated favourably, whereas the Hong Kong, the Korean and the (Mainland) Chinese speakers of English were evaluated negatively. The thesis discusses the possible reasons for the evaluation patterns, using an identification task included on the survey to justify conclusions. The fact that rating patterns accorded by each nationality group surveyed were consistent also gives weight to the argument that stereotypical information towards speech groups are accessed and/or activated beyond the level of consciousness.

In addition, the nationality of the informants had a significant effect on the way that speakers were evaluated, particularly with regards to the Korean informants, who were found to accord English speakers with significantly lower evaluations than the Chinese and the Japanese informants. This finding was consistent with the explicit attitudes elicited by Korean informants, who also gave lower overall evaluations of Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups. This finding highlights possible cultural differences in the perception of non-native speakers of English. The thesis looks beyond language attitude studies for reasons underpinning possible cultural differences in social judgments, suggesting that issues of self-esteem may play a part. It is concluded that findings in social psychology may help to identify areas that could be incorporated onto ELT programmes to address wider issues of self-esteem, which may in turn affect cross-cultural interactions between speakers who do not share the same first language.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
List of tables and figures.....	v
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Declaration.....	viii
1.1 World Englishes and Kachru's Three Circle Model.....	2
1.2 English as a Lingua Franca.....	5
1.3 Researching the Expanding Circle.....	6
1.4 The history of English Language Policy in China, Japan and Korea.....	9
1.4.1 The history of English language policy in China.....	9
1.4.2 The history of English language policy in Japan.....	12
1.4.3 The history of English language policy in Korea.....	17
1.4.4 Similarities and differences in English language education in China, Japan and Korea.....	22
1.5 Outline of the thesis.....	24
Chapter 2: Attitudes, Stereotypes and Language Attitudes.....	26
2.1. What are Attitudes?.....	27
2.1.1. Why do we have attitudes?.....	27
2.1.2. Attitudes structure and the attitudes-behaviour relationship.....	28
2.1.3. How attitudes are formed.....	29
2.1.4. Attitudes as explicit and implicit.....	30
2.1.5. Stability of attitudes.....	31
2.2 The Social Identity Approach.....	33
2.2.1 Social Identity Theory.....	33
2.2.2. Self-Categorisation Theory.....	35
2.3. Stereotypes.....	36
2.3.1. Social stereotypes.....	36
2.3.2. Linguistic stereotypes.....	39
2.4. Language attitudes.....	40
2.4.1. What are language attitudes?.....	40
2.4.2. How are language attitudes measured?.....	41
2.4.3. Main findings of language attitude studies.....	44
2.5. Summary and rationale for the present study.....	46
Chapter 3: Review of Relevant Literature.....	50
3.1 Language attitude studies towards English varieties in China, Japan and Korea.....	50
3.1.1 Relevant language attitude studies in the Japanese context.....	51
3.1.2 Relevant language attitude studies in the Korean context.....	65
3.1.3 Relevant language attitude studies in the Chinese context.....	73

3.2 Comparative studies.....	78
3.3 Summary of relevant language attitude studies in China, Japan and Korea	80
Chapter 4: Research Methodology.....	83
4.1 Aims.....	83
4.2 The Research Questions.....	85
4.3 Informants.....	86
4.3.1 Choice of informants.....	86
4.3.2 Informant sample population/participating institutions	87
4.4 The Research Instrument	89
4.4.1 Part One: the speech evaluation experiment	90
4.4.2 Part Two: the country of origin identification task	93
4.4.3 Part three: The adapted perceptual dialectology experiment	94
4.4.4 Part Four: Background information of informants.....	97
4.5 The choice of background variables	97
4.6 Ethics	99
4.7 Research instrument design	99
4.7.1. Speech stimulus	99
4.7.2 The recording of the speech varieties.....	101
4.7.3 Choice of speakers	101
4.7.4 Background of the speakers	102
4.7.5 The selected speakers.....	102
4.7.6 The selection of evaluative traits for the semantic differential scale	108
4.8 The pilot study	110
4.9 Implementation procedure	113
Chapter 5: Results and Preliminary Discussion.....	116
5.1 Part One: Descriptive Statistics.....	117
5.1.1 Breakdown of informants.....	117
5.1.2 Gender.....	118
5.1.3 Speaker Identification	119
5.2 Part two: Speech evaluation experiment.....	137
5.2.1 Speaker evaluations.....	138
5.2.2 Main effects of independent variables upon speaker evaluations	161
5.2.3 Interaction effects between independent variables upon speaker evaluations	173
5.3 Part Three: Direct attitude experiment.....	180
5.3.1 Describing the personality of a person from China, Japan and Korea	181
5.3.2 Main effects of direct attitudes upon speaker evaluation.....	190
5.3.3 Linguistic stereotypes	192
Chapter 6: In-depth Discussion and Conclusions	201

6.1 Research question 1: What are the implicit attitude evaluations of East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, (South) Korean) university students towards representative speakers of English from the following nationalities? i) China ii) Hong Kong iii) India iv) Japan v) (South) Korea.....	201
6.2 Research question two: What are the explicit attitudes of East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean) university students towards people from the following nationality groups: (i) China (ii) Japan (ii) Korea.....	209
6.3 Research question three: To what extent (if any) do explicit attitudes towards national groups affect implicit language attitudes?	216
6.4 Research question four: What are the effects (if any) of the following background variables upon the informants' evaluations of the speakers: (i) Nationality (ii) Gender.....	218
6.4.1 Nationality.....	218
6.4.2 Gender.....	232
6.5 Research question five: To what extent do patterns of identification and misidentification influence attitudes towards spoken forms of English?.....	233
Chapter 7: Conclusions, recommendations and limitations	242
7.1 Conclusions and recommendations.....	242
7.1.1 The Japanese speaker of English was accorded generally high evaluations.....	242
7.1.2 Identification of 'other' non-native speaker varieties was difficult	244
7.1.3 Speaker evaluations differed significantly according to the nationality of the informants	245
7.1.4 Evaluations towards East Asian informants' own English speech forms are complex..	246
7.1.5 Recognition of speech forms may occur below the level of consciousness.....	248
7.2 Limitations of the study	250
7.2.1 Experiment design.....	250
7.2.2 Survey procedure	254
7.2.3 Analyses of results	256
7.2.4 Timing of the study	257
Bibliography	259
Appendices.....	277
A. The map task.....	277
B. Principal components analysis	278
C. The survey	279
D. Informants courses of study	284
E. Geographical regions categorised by country	285
F. Main effects of explicit attitudes upon implicit attitudes.....	286
G. Interaction effect – nationality*ability to identify speakers.....	287

List of tables and figures

Tables

Table 1: Frequency of informants according to institution and country	88
Table 2: Informants' age and length of time studying English according to each country	88
Table 3: Informants' course of study according to discipline and country	89
Table 4: Transcription key	103
Table 5: Speaker recording order of play according to set	114
Table 6: Five speakers of English (and abbreviations) provided as speech stimuli for the present study	117
Table 7: Breakdown of informant numbers according to institution and location	118
Table 8: Breakdown of informant numbers according to gender and nationality	119
Table 9: Number of speakers that informants were able to correctly identify	120
Table 10: Identification rate of each speaker	121
Table 11: Identification rate for each speaker according to nationality of informants	122
Table 12: Number of speakers misidentified as native speakers of English	128
Table 13: Rate of identification of each speaker as native or non-native speakers of English.....	129
Table 14: Rate of identification of each speaker as native or non-native speaker of English according to nationality of informants	131
Table 15: Perceived region of origin for each speaker (top 3 answers only).....	133
Table 16: Perceived country of origin for each speaker (top 5 answers only).....	134
Table 17: Mean evaluation scores for each speaker according to trait	138
Table 18: Ranking of each speaker according to trait	139
Table 19: Overall mean evaluations and standard deviations according to each adjective trait (N = 554)	141
Table 20: Trait Communalities: Sum of Speakers.....	141
Table 21: Component loading according to eigenvalues and distribution of variance.....	143
Table 22: Overall mean evaluations and standard deviations for each speaker in descending order (N = 554)	146
Table 23: ANOVA Summaries for speakers	146
Table 24: Significance differences between the mean evaluation ratings of each speaker	147
Table 25: Ranking of each speaker according to mean evaluation scores (including standard deviations)	148
Table 26: Significance differences between the mean evaluation ratings of each speaker among the Chinese informants only	152
Table 27: The Chinese informants' ranking of the five speakers by mean evaluation scores (and including standard deviations)	153
Table 28: Significance differences between the mean evaluation ratings of each speaker among the Japanese informants only	154
Table 29: The Japanese informants' ranking of the five speakers by mean evaluation scores (and including standard deviations)	154
Table 30: Significance differences between the mean evaluation ratings of each speaker among the Korean informants only.....	155
Table 31: The Korean informants' ranking of the five speakers by mean evaluation scores (and including standard deviations)	156
Table 32: Mean evaluation scores for all five speakers according to each nationality informant group	165
Table 33: Overall Ranking, mean evaluation and speech rate of each speaker	172

Table 34: Ranking and Number of Occurrences of Descriptions for Chinese, Korean and Japanese national groups	181
Table 35: Ranking and number of occurrences of descriptions for each national group (Chinese, Japanese and Korean)	182
Table 36: Ranking and percentage of descriptions for personalities of people from China, Japan and Korea according to nationality of informants	184
Table 37: Scores for positive/negative descriptions for each of the Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups according to nationality of informants (negative scores equal negative descriptions, higher numbers equal more occurrences).....	187
Table 38: Categorization of general attitudes of each informant (positive, neutral/ambiguous, negative) according to the overall descriptions elicited in the explicit attitude experiment	191
Table 39: Ranking of each speaker according to mean evaluation scores.....	203
Table 40: Ranking of each speaker according to mean evaluation scores.....	219
Table 41: Ranking, mean evaluation scores and standard deviations according to the nationality of the informants.....	228

Figures

Figure 1: Kachru's circles model (Kachru, 1985; adapted from Melchers & Shaw, 2011: 8).....	3
Figure 2: the semantic differential scale used in the verbal-guise experiment.....	109
Figure 3: Overall mean evaluation scores for each speaker (N = 554)	148
Figure 4: Mean evaluation scores of each speaker according to nationality of informants (N = 554)	158
Figure 5: Mean evaluation score of each speaker comparison according to nationality of informants (N = 554)	164
Figure 6: Average mean evaluation scores for all five speakers according to the nationality of the informants.....	166
Figure 7: Mean evaluation score for each speaker comparison according to gender of informants (N = 554).....	167
Figure 8: Mean evaluation score for each speaker comparison according to whether informants could correctly identify speakers' country of origin or not	169
Figure 9: Mean evaluation scores for each speaker comparison according to whether informants perceived speakers to be native or non-native speakers of English	171
Figure 10: Direct attitudes towards Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups according to nationality of informants	188
Figure 11: Mean evaluation score and identification rate of each speaker according to nationality of the informants	220
Figure 12: The map task (used as speech stimulus).....	277
Figure 13: A scree plot indicating the evaluative dimensions on which speakers were judged (eigenvalue above 1 represent an evaluate dimension)	278
Figure 14: Mean evaluation scores given to Chinese speaker of English according to direct attitudes of informants.....	286
Figure 15: Mean evaluation scores given to Korean speaker of English according to direct attitudes of informants	286
Figure 16: Mean evaluation score accorded to the HK speaker by the Japanese informants according to the their ability to identify the country of origin of the speakers	287
Figure 17: Mean evaluation score accorded to the KR speaker by the Japanese informants according to the their ability to identify the country of origin of the speakers	287

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I owe a special thank you to my supervision team, Dr. Robert M. McKenzie and Graham S. Hall, for their encouragement, patience and invaluable feedback throughout the course of my PhD. Also at Northumbria University, it is necessary to thank all those in the RED office (Andrea Percival, Jess Scott, Scott Burdon, Sophie Wellington, Cissie Tsang), who have done a sterling job keeping everything organised, and everyone in the Linguistics department. For helping with the recruitment of informants during the design of the research instrument I would like to thank tutors in the Northumbria Language Centre, in particular Caroline Burns, Deborah Burns, Ian Carey, Sandra Elliot, Jane Johnson, Patryk Kasprzak, Carrie McCulloch, Paul Milburn, Craig Moore, Dr. Jon Robinson, Mila Romanovskaya, Angela Sabbah, Marilyn Sinclair and Jean Stafford, and everyone else in the NLC for their help and support. In addition, I would like to thank those at Teikyo University of Japan Durham, in particular Kumi Casey and Eric Baumgartner, as well as Joe Fowler from INTO Newcastle, and Caroline Preston from International House Newcastle. A big thank you is needed for all the volunteer speakers across Newcastle and Durham (who shall remain anonymous but not forgotten!) and of course all of the students throughout the city that contributed to the design of the research instrument. Thank you to the translators of the survey, Chisato Danjo, Dahee (Chloe) Kim, Joon Kim, Minju Kwon, Yoonkyung (Adella) Yoo, Chris Middleton and Clementine Zhang.

For the study and research trip I would like to thank Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University Language Centre for their help with data collection, in particular to Dr. Stuart Perrin, Eoin Jordan, Eleanor Tyers, Anastasia Campbell, Samantha Ng, Sarah Butler, Bin Zhou, and Biyun (Betty) Chen. At the University of Nottingham Ningbo China (UNNC) I owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Margaret Dowens for inviting to help me and looking after me! Also at UNNC thanks to Dr. John McKenny, Dr. Derek Irwin, Professor Geoff Hall, Dr. Hong (Lily) Wan, Cindy Cai, Anna Tong, Sophie Wei and Nina Ma. In Hongik University much appreciation goes to Professor Seongphil Huh for his kindness, along with Professor Myung Gye (Stephen) Joh, and Professor Hwang (thank you kindly for the tea! You are a gentleman!), Hyejin Jeong, Eunsoon Yoo, Gil Eun Huh and Jinni Kwon. At Gachon University, thanks to Alex Brotman for volunteering to help and inviting me into his classes, and the staff of Gachon English Language Centre for their kindness. Also thank you to Timothy Higgins for putting me up! At Kansai University I would like to give special thanks to Professor Yuriko Kite, along with Dr. Alex Bennett, Dr. Fred Anderson and Professor Mary Noguchi. In Aoyama Gakuin University, thank you to Junko Saruhashi for her kindness and help. I would also like to thank all of the many students who participated in the study in China, Japan and Korea! Thanks also to Kris, Kaori and Towa for a trip down memory lane, and of course a huge thanks to Lloyd, Masumi, Kokoro and Tsubasa for the lovely food and company! And thanks to Rich and Catherine for a great end to such a busy research trip!

Finally, I would like to thank my family (Mam, Dad, Neil, Jen and Vincent) for their unwavering support and my housemates, Anthony Hughes, David Kerr, David Tiplady, Phil Old, John Ritchie and Stuart Douglass (plus Adam, Liam and Andy and the rest) for putting up with me! I would also like to thank all my friends, and anyone else I've missed who have supported me along the way, not forgetting Marie Jensen and all the other PhD students in Lipman 404 and 127 who had to listen to me talk about my work for 3 years!

Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Any ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted by the School Research Ethics Committee on [date]

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Date: 1st October 2013

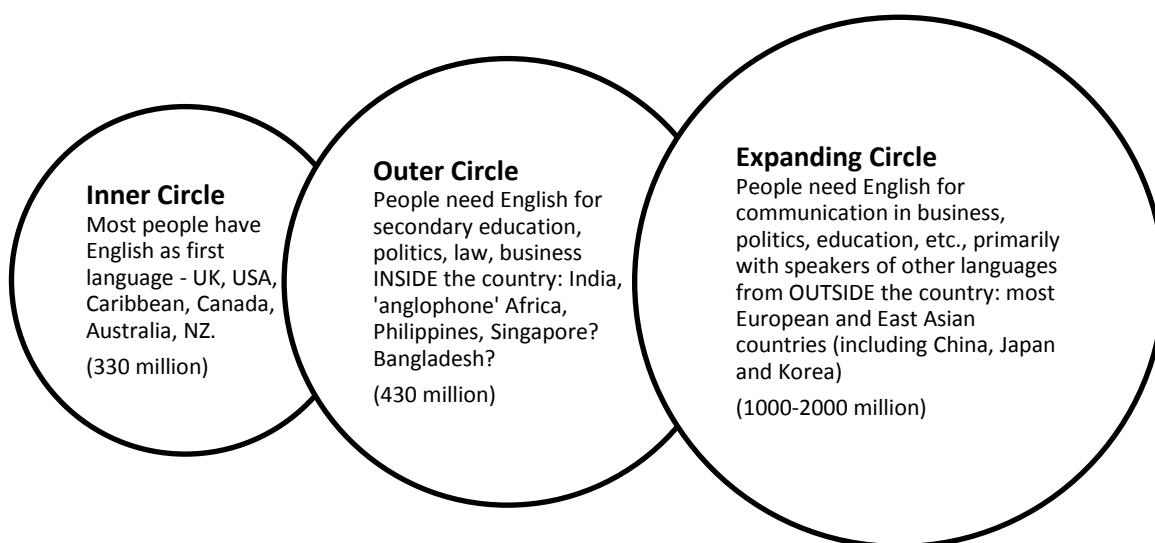
Chapter 1: World Englishes and English Education in China, Japan and South Korea

It is widely accepted that the spread of English as a global language has reached unprecedented proportions. It is estimated that English is spoken as a first language by 330 million (Jenkins, 2009; Crystal, 2003), the majority of whom inhabit countries where English is spoken as a first language, the USA, Canada, the UK, the Republic of Ireland, Australia and New Zealand. English is estimated to be spoken as a second or other language by around 430 million (Crystal, 2003) in countries where English is used for intranational purposes. Furthermore, English is the main language of international business, diplomacy, academia, technology, air-traffic control and sport (Melchers & Shaw, 2011). However, it is the vast numbers who use English as an additional language that have received the most academic attention in the previous few decades. The number of users of English as a second (or other) language has been estimated to be up to as many as two billion (Crystal, 2008; Graddol, 2006), comprising of between one-quarter and one-third of the global population. Although the figures are speculative, one thing is certain: the total number of English speakers for whom English is not their first language vastly outnumbers the total number of English for whom English is a first language (Jenkins, 2009). In this respect, the learners of English worldwide constitute “the largest group of language learners in the history of humanity” (Kachru & Smith, 2008: 178).

1.1 World Englishes and Kachru's Three Circle Model

Braj Kachru (1985) described the spread of English through three concentric circles, which he called the *Inner Circle*, the *Outer Circle* and the *Expanding Circle* (see Figure 1). Kachru's circles are intended to have historical, sociolinguistic, ideological and pedagogical significance rather than represent a hierarchical ranking of English varieties, and as a reference point for the evolution of functional contexts (Kachru, 2009). The Inner Circle thus represents the first diaspora of English, countries where English is predominantly spoken as a first language (i.e. the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand). The Outer Circle includes countries where English is used as a second (or other) language, and serves some functional and/or institutional purpose, such as India, Nigeria, and the Philippines among others. The Expanding Circle describes the contexts where English is learned as a means of international communication, and which serves a limited function (if at all) within the borders of the country, and with a limited (if any) institutionalised function. Examples of Expanding Circle countries include China, Japan, South Korea, and many European and South American countries. The pedagogical significance of the three circles model is to be found in Kachru's (1992) descriptions of the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles as *norm-providing*, *norm-developing* and *norm-dependent* respectively. In this respect, Kachru claims that the widespread functional use of Englishes within the Outer Circle has led to the creation of "new Englishes", that have become 'nativised' or 'localised' by "adopting some language features of [their] own, such as sounds, intonation patterns, sentence structures, words and expressions" (Platt et al, 1984: 3). In contrast, with little intranational functional use of English, Expanding Circle contexts still look to the standards and norms of Englishes spoken in the Inner Circle as models. Although the three circles model has been criticised more recently for being over-simple (Yano, 2009), the influence of the model has been seminal to the development of the world Englishes paradigm, a position which acknowledges and celebrates the diversity of English used throughout the globe.

Figure 1: Kachru's circles model (Kachru, 1985; adapted from Melchers & Shaw, 2011: 8)



Central to Kachru's world Englishes paradigm is the plurality of English spoken throughout the three circles, and a rejection of the dichotomy between native and non-native users of English. Kachru's use of the plural term "Englishes" thus acknowledged the diversity of English, particularly in multilingual contexts, and viewed these "new Englishes" not as erroneous but as valid varieties worthy of study.

"Englishes" symbolizes the functional and formal variation in the language, and its international acculturation, for example in West Africa, in Southern Africa, in East Africa, in South Asia, in Southeast Asia, in the West Indies, in the Philippines, and in the traditional English-using countries: the USA, the UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The language now belongs to those who use it as their first language, and to those who use it as an additional language, whether in its standard form or localised forms."

(Kachru & Smith, 1985: 210)

The acknowledgment of diversity of English users is underpinned by the question of ownership of the English language. According to Wee (2002: 283) the concept of ownership is "a metaphor for reflecting the legitimate control that speakers may have over the development of the language". The ownership debate has essentially resulted in two schools of thought, divided into purist and

pragmatist (Chisanga & Kamwangamalu, 1997). The former argues that the ownership of English lies with native speakers, and that the newer varieties should be viewed as deviations from, or approximations towards a native variety. In this respect, non-native varieties of English are seen as interference varieties (Quirk, 1988), interlanguages (languages that have not reached the target level of ability), or fossilised languages (language that has ceased short of native-like competence) (Jenkins, 2009). In contrast, the pragmatist school of thought argues that English is no longer solely owned by its native speakers (Norton, 1997; Widdowson, 1994). This viewpoint is seeded in the belief that English is now an international language, thus devaluing the notion of any central ownership or control. The point is highlighted by Widdowson (1994: 385), “The very fact that English is an international language means no nation can have custody over it”. This viewpoint is based upon the acceptance that there are new varieties of English, and that these new Englishes offer a “distinct, systematic, endonormative variety of English” (Kachru, 1983: 10). That is, they are not dependent on native speaker norms.

The pragmatist school of thought justifies its position through the use of two arguments. The first, is the numerical argument, as frequently argued by Crystal (1988, 1997, 2008), and Jenkins (2000, 2007) among a few, which argues that speakers for whom English is an additional language outnumber those for whom it is a first language. The second argument is the nativisation argument, which argues that changes to and variations within the language are inevitable and become localised or nativised. In some cases, English is not just nativised, but also institutionalised, being given status as an official language and used for a large range of functions in local education, administrative and legal system (Kachru, 1986), for example in India, Malaysia and the Philippines to name a few. Thus, Widdowson (1994: 385) argues that “as soon as you accept that English serves the communicative and communal needs of different communities, it follows logically that it must be diverse”. It is this diversity that is acknowledged in the study of world Englishes, and more recently in the growing research on English as a Lingua Franca.

1.2 English as a Lingua Franca

There have been many terms to describe the growing use of the English language as a means of communication between people from different language backgrounds: for example, English as an international (auxiliary) language (EIL/EIAL) (e.g. Jenkins, 2000; McKay, 2002), English as a global language (e.g. Crystal, 1997), English as world language (e.g. Mair, 2003) and English as a lingua franca (ELF) (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2001). The terms are used to broadly describe the same phenomenon of the spread of English, albeit from slightly different perspectives. For instance, English as an international language is argued to describe English as spoken by those for whom English is not a first language, but primarily for use with L1 English speakers, for example in international business contexts. The term has been criticised for implying that there is “one, clearly distinguishable, codified, and unitary variety” (Seidlhofer, 2004; 210), and therefore the term has been described by Seidlhofer (ibid) as misleading. The increasing claims that English is no longer learnt primarily as a means of communication with L1 English speakers, but to communicate with people who do not share the same first language (Jenkins, 2009), in addition to the undeniable data indicating that the number of learners of English vastly outnumber those for whom English is a first language (Crystal, 2008; Graddol, 2006; Jenkins, 2009; Kachru, 2008), has led to the phenomena now termed *English as a lingua franca* (ELF) (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2001), a term which has gained widespread use in recent years. ELF is used to describe “communicative interactions among mainly, but not exclusively, [non-native speakers (NNS)] of English who use English as their chosen tool for communication in international and intercultural settings” (Murata & Jenkins, 2009: 4). That is, when interacting in international and intercultural settings, speakers of English engage using a diversity of English varieties, which they use to negotiate meaning without a reliance on “native” speaker norms.

The notion of ELF is closely connected to world Englishes in that both models are “by nature more centrifugal and diversifying, since they are not constrained by native speaker (NS) English norms” (ibid: 3), and therefore ELF may be considered as part of the world Englishes paradigm. Over the past decade, there has been a surge in ELF research, especially in order to investigate the dynamics

in particular of NNS-NNS communication, including large scale empirical research such as the Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE (Seidlhofer, 2001), and the Lingua Franca Core (Jenkins, 2000). Both projects investigated specific features and characteristics of ELF (particularly accents of English speech) in order to identify issues of intelligibility and/or strategies required for successful negotiation of meaning. In addition, research within the fields of sociolinguistics, and social psychology have investigated folk perceptions of English varieties among Inner, Outer and Expanding Circle countries in order to understand the attitudes of English language users towards spoken Englishes across Kachru's three circles (see Section 2.3 and Chapter 3 for finding of previous language attitude studies).

1.3 Researching the Expanding Circle

According to Gnutzmann (2000), as much as 80 per cent of all verbal exchanges in English may not involve NSs. Graddol (1997) thus claims that the future of English will be determined not by native speakers of English, but those who speak English as a second or other language. If the growing numbers of English language learners in the Expanding Circle are taken into consideration, and if it is accepted that there is a likelihood that English will be the lingua franca of choice between speakers who do not share the same first language, then it is imperative that research among Expanding Circle users of English is conducted in order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the issues which underpin ELF interactions. Seidlhofer (2004: 226) emphasises this need for research: "a reorientation of English away from the fascination with [English as a Native Language], and towards the cross-cultural role of ELF will make it easier to take on board findings from research into the related areas of *intercultural communication*" (emphasis in original). The present study thus provides a cross-cultural comparison between learners of English in Expanding Circle countries and their perceptions of English use. The focus of the study is positioned within the world Englishes/ELF paradigm, investigating sociolinguistic, social psychological and folk linguistic phenomena. Central to the study of English within Expanding Circle environments is the belief that diversity exists in the way in which English is spoken.

Furthermore, the author is in agreement with Graddol (1997; 2006) that the future of English lies with speakers of multilingual English speakers in EFL contexts, thus necessitating research among Expanding Circle countries where the learning and use of English is experiencing continual growth. Moreover, due to the diversity of English varieties and accents, it is felt necessary to investigate folk perceptions in order to understand the status of English among different speakers and learners. Kramsch (1999: 134) highlights socio-cultural considerations to be taken into account:

“...while the official rhetoric claims that English has become the lingua franca of the world and is not “owned” by any one nation in particular (Widdowson: 1994), everybody knows that not all English accents are equally prestigious, nor are all English ways of speaking”

This notion of prestige may have huge implications for how English is taught and what varieties of English learners want to learn. According to Hymes (1992), researchers involved in the study of linguistics often take for granted the assumptions and knowledge that all languages or language varieties are ‘potentially’ equal, as they argue that all speakers are entitled to liberty and autonomy in the way in which they speak. However, the study of folk perceptions of language and language varieties consistently reveals that ‘Standard’ varieties of languages (i.e. the varieties of a language that are generally codified) are perceived as more prestigious than non-standard varieties (for a discussion of attitudes towards varieties of English see Section 2.3.3), and that “people often know perfectly well that they can accomplish some things in one language or language variety that they can not in another” (Hymes, 1992: 7). In the context of the present study, folk perceptions of English varieties may therefore dictate the variety of English learned, in particular the use of Standard American English (i.e. Mid-West or General American) or Standard British English, which are often perceived to hold the most prestige among varieties of English.

However, the learning of ‘Standard’ varieties of English in Expanding Circle countries has often been labelled as ‘unrealistic’, due to differences in phonological and grammatical systems between languages which mean that native-like production of English is generally achievable to few learners of English (Dalton & Seidlhofer, 1994; Jenkins, 1998), thus resulting in distinctive accents

and prosodic (i.e. intonation, stress, rhythm) features. It is this inevitable diversity of the way English is spoken that underpins the rationale for the present study. In particular, differing attitudes towards varieties of English may lead to prejudice towards certain speakers of English, which may cause problems for intercultural interactions. Thus, investigating the attitudes that are held towards different English accents and styles of speaking is deemed important. In light of arguments that English as a Lingua Franca is primarily used for communication between speakers whose first language is not English (Jenkins, 2009), it is imperative that research in language attitudes focuses upon ‘non-native’ varieties of English and the perceptions of these varieties among their speakers. In order to empirically analyse and document the current attitudes towards English accents/forms of speech in the Expanding Circle, the present study focuses upon folk perceptions towards the way in which English is spoken by Outer and Expanding Circle speakers.

In addition, the present study positions itself as an international cross-cultural study, enabling attitudes to be compared and contrasted directly between Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants. In agreement with Smith (2009: 19, emphasis in original), I define culture as “shared ways of behaviour which are *learned* that *groups* of people use to understand and interpret the world”. In addition, this may be expanded to shared attitudes and beliefs that underlie this behaviour. Therefore the term ‘*cross-cultural*’ denotes ways of behaviour across, between or among different groups of people. In the present study, the focus is upon culture on a national level. In turn, ‘*international cross-cultural attitudes*’ suggests the attitudes of different national groups towards speakers in English in the Outer and Expanding Circles.

As noted, the present study focuses specifically upon three countries in the Expanding Circle: the People’s Republic of China (China hereafter), Japan and the Republic of Korea (Korea hereafter). The three countries were selected as a case study for the present study for the following reasons:

- (i) All three countries are located within the Expanding Circle, i.e. English is learned as a foreign language as a means of international communication, and does not satisfy any institutional, or intranational function (see Figure 1 above).

- (ii) There are similarities in the methods employed by education policy makers in each of the three selected countries (see Section 1.4).
- (iii) The close geographical proximity of the three countries increases the likelihood of interaction between their peoples, as evidenced by tourism and business entry figures of each country between its peoples (e.g. CNTO, JNTO, KTO).
- (iv) The rapid growth in the economies, certainly in China and Korea, and the relative (though arguably diminishing) economic influence held by Japan at the time of writing highlights the future importance of the East Asia region in world economics and politics.
- (v) The three countries selected have historically had direct cultural and linguistic influences upon one another, often, though not exclusively, following military conflict. The relationship between the three countries, and the perceptions of their people towards one another, is thus of particular interest, since trilateral cooperation on economic and political matters is likely to increase in importance with the continued economic growth of the region.

The following sections will offer an outline of the history of English language contact and educational policies in China, Japan and Korea in order to provide the reader with a background to English language learning in each country, and to highlight the emphasis placed on English language education in the region.

1.4 The history of English Language Policy in China, Japan and Korea

1.4.1 The history of English language policy in China

English language education has had a long but checkered history in China. Despite initial contact between British traders and Chinese in 1637 (Bolton, 2003; Honna, 2009), it was not until the

climax of the Opium wars (1839-1842 and 1856-1860) when China was forced to open its ports to foreign trading, that the English language began to have an influence in China. Chinese Pidgin English became an indispensable lingua franca between foreigners and Chinese, as well as between Chinese who spoke different provincial dialects (Honna, 2009). Missionary schools set up in the ports promoted the study of English, and were joined by 'modern schools' (*xué táng*) established by the Chinese government in major cities, with a national curriculum in 1903 that included three core subjects: mathematics, Chinese and foreign languages (Bolton & Graddol, 2012).

According to Adamson (2002), the development of English language education in China has undergone a number of periods. Firstly, English was a conduit for intellectual revolution with the purpose of learning ideas and philosophy from the West (1911-1923). This was followed by a period from 1923 to 1949 where English was used for the purpose of diplomacy and interaction. The formation of the People's Republic of China under communist rule in 1949, however, resulted in the decline in the study of English throughout China, as English was viewed with suspicion and replaced by Russian as the main foreign language of study (Tang & Gao, 2000). Despite a minor renaissance in English language education in the early sixties (Adamson, 2002), the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) resulted in the cease of English language education and the dramatic restructure or closure of schools and universities throughout China in a shift towards building a manual workforce. The Cultural Revolution ended in 1976 with the death of Mao Zedong, and what followed was a slow economic and educational recovery and the '*Open Door Policy*' under the reign of Deng Xiaoping. Foreign languages gained attention as a core school subject, with English the dominant language. English was once again seen as instrumental for modernization, with English seen as a tool to access science and technological knowledge (Adamson, 2002).

In 1978, two years after the end of the Cultural Revolution, a new English education syllabus was issued which reflected China's new vision for a more open, modernized China, to be achieved through economic advancement. The syllabus shifted from political goals that had dominated earlier syllabi before the Cultural Revolution, to a means of economic development, in order to raise the cultural and scientific quality of the country. A new unified syllabus issued in 1988 evidenced the growing influence of communicative language teaching, with the introduction of a

functional notional syllabus, which began to focus on context and functionality of spoken English rather than simply translation from Chinese to English and vice-versa that had hitherto been the main teaching approach. According to Adamson (2002), since 1982 English has become highly desirable and strongly promoted in school curricula. The growing interest of English among Chinese was further evidenced in the high ratings for an English TV show *Follow Me* on CCTV, receiving viewing figures of 20 million plus (Silver, Hu & Iino, 2002).

In 1992 and 1993 new syllabi for junior and senior secondary schools were issued, which for the first time were communicatively orientated, with goals that prioritised the development of communicative competence, facilitation of language input and output, and use of realia (Silver, Hu & Iino, 2002). In addition to the communicative goals of the syllabi, the rationale for English language education in China seemed to be evolving from simply an instrumental tool to meet the needs of China's economic ambitions to more humanistic goals, where skills learnt through learning an international language were considered valuable life skills; for instance, "to foster students' intellectual development, broaden their vision, and enhance development of individuality and specialty" (Silver, Hu & Iino, 2002: 25). Further revisions to the syllabi in 2000 acknowledged the rapid development of information technology as a driving force for English language study, in addition to English's role as a language for international exchange. New theories arising from research in second language acquisition and learning strategies resulted in goals for a learner-centred classroom, with reduced teacher talk time and the increase of summative testing that involved examining students' communicative skills at the expense of grammar rules that had previously dominated English language testing.

In 2001 English language study at primary level (grade 3; ages 8/9) became an official national policy, extending the number of years that students participate in English language study. The Chinese education consists of 9 years' compulsory education (spanning primary school and junior secondary school), followed by an option to continue on to one of four different types of senior secondary school based upon academic or vocational ambitions and/or attainment. Those that take the academic route then have the option of attending tertiary education. The national introduction of English into primary schools in China from grade 3 means that students study foreign languages

(predominantly English) for 2-3 years in primary school, 3-4 years in junior secondary school, and 3 years in senior secondary school. Furthermore, the national university entry exam, the *gāokǎo*, reported to have been taken by 9 million students in 2012 (China Daily, 2012), and which tests ability in Chinese, mathematics and English, is required for placement into tertiary education. Once at university, students are required to continue their study of English, and in order to graduate from university, students must pass the College English Test (CET). Although the exact numbers are not known, a survey conducted in 1999-2001 estimated that 390 million students had learnt some English (SGO, 2006; Wei & Su, 2012), a figure that exceeds the total number of speakers of English as first language (Bolton, 2003), and constitutes roughly one-third of China's population (Bolton & Graddol, 2012). The same study estimated that from students that had achieved junior secondary school qualifications or above, 67.4% had studied a foreign language, 93.8% of which studied English, with Russian (7.1%) and Japanese (2.5%) the second and the third most popular languages respectively (SGO, 2006; Wei & Su, 2012). 21% of the informants from 165,000 the households surveyed claimed to possess the spoken competence of English, which allowed them to converse beyond greetings (Wei & Su, 2012), however it must be noted that level of proficiency was self-reported, and thus should be interpreted tentatively.

1.4.2 The history of English language policy in Japan

Although there was a great deal of contact between Japan and the West from the mid-sixteenth century in the form of Portuguese, Dutch, British and Spanish merchants (among others), the Japanese Shogunate remained suspicious of foreign aggressors and adopted an isolationist policy (*sakoku*) to limit contact with foreign influences considered dangerous to Japan. It was not until some 250 years later, in 1853 that major contact with the English language was made again, when U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry sailed into Tokyo Harbour with warships and demanded an end to the isolationist policies. The opening of Japan heralded a period of reform, named *the Meiji Restoration* (from 1868), which saw the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and issued in widespread changes for Japan as it became more influenced by Western ideas and culture (Hosoki, 2011). One major change came in the form of education; a new Ministry of Education was formed, based upon the French and the German education systems, and compulsory education was introduced for the first time (Hagerman, 2009). English became a part of the national curriculum in 1872 (Takeshita,

2010), and in the same year universities introduced English as part of an entrance test, a move which would prove to have a profound effect on the learning of English up to and including the present day. Such was the influence of English (in particular the perceived commercial rewards it could bring), that the Japanese ambassador to the USA, Mori Arinori, even advocated that Japan adopt English as an official national language (Hagerman, 2009; McKenzie, 2010). Although Mori's radical proposal was not enacted, the suggestion indicates just how powerful a political and economic tool language was considered to be, even in the late nineteenth century.

The establishment of English as a part of the national curriculum and as a component on university entrance exams changed the purpose of English language study in Japan from a means to access Western culture and knowledge to a marker of academic achievement. In the quest for a better awareness of teaching techniques, the Japanese government invited H. E. Palmer, a linguistics scholar from the U.K., to assess the English language teaching methodology in Japan, which was hitherto dominated by the grammar-translation approach, which focused upon writing and reading skills. During Palmer's stay in Japan from 1922 to 1936, he criticised the use of grammar-translation, advocating an oral-aural method, which focused on speaking and listening skills, and had been successful in a number of schools where it was trialled. Despite the relative success and backing from high school teachers, the Ministry of Education took no action and the reliance on grammar-translation continued (Hagerman, 2009; Hosoki, 2011). Although awareness of teaching methodology had been raised in Japan, the focus on preparing students for the university entrance exam, which tested only grammatical knowledge of English was long to be the aim for English language education.

In 1941 Japan entered into war with the USA. During this period, English was seen as the language of the enemy and therefore English language education 'officially' ceased (Hosoki, 2011). After Japan surrendered to the USA on August 15th 1945, Japan renounced its nationalist tendencies and once more looked to the West in order to modernise, influenced in no small part by the seven year U.S. occupation of Japan (1945-1952). English was reinstated as part of the national curricula, and a Standard American variety of English emerged as the preferred language model. By 1963, the ministry of education had acknowledged that a practical working knowledge of the English

language was necessary if Japan was to progress in international business, leading to the introduction of *Jitsuyou Eigo Kentei*, an English examination for the specific purpose of assessing practical English skills. Nevertheless, traditional methods of grammar-translation were still prevalent in English classes, limiting the practice of speaking and listening skills.

In the 1970s, a popular interest in *nihonjiron*, or the study of literature of Japanese uniqueness was followed by foreign language reform in the form of *kokusaika*, which is roughly translated as ‘internationalisation’ or ‘globalisation’ (Hagerman, 2009; McKenzie, 2010). At the same time, there was a growing interest in the English language within Japan, partly attributed to the 1964 hosting of the Summer Olympics, and partly due to the increasing mobilization of Japanese students, with almost two million studying abroad in the 1970s (Imura, 2003). Following the growing interest in communicative teaching approaches, which emphasised speaking and listening skills, the JET programme was established in 1987 for the purpose of increasing the number of native English speaker teachers in classrooms throughout Japan (Takeshita, 2010). The JET programme employs native English speaker Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) from the USA, Canada, the UK, Australia and New Zealand, who are then placed in elementary, junior high and high schools throughout Japan. The primary aim of the programme is to promote “grass-roots international exchange between Japan and other nations” (JET, 2013), and is believed to have been established in order to promote positive international understanding as a direct response to the trade conflict between the US and Japan in the 1980s (Hagerman, 2009; Reesor, 2002). However, while the JET programme is utilised as a means for improving English language study in public schools, its primary objective is not believed to be part of language policy as such, but as a means to promote Japanese nationalistic values through the medium of English (Hashimoto, 2009; Kubota, 1998; Reesor, 2002).

Following the establishment of the JET programme, a new Course of Study was issued by the Ministry of Education in 1989, also influenced by communicative language teaching approaches that had been gaining popularity throughout the 1980s (MEXT, 1989). Evidence of TOEFL scores, the main external English language test in Japan and much of Asia, suggested that English language ability in Japan was not improving despite the efforts of the JET programme, with Japan

consistently achieving the lowest TOEFL scores in Asia. It was clear to the Ministry of Education that reforms were needed, which led to a 5-year reform plan to cultivate “*Japanese with English abilities*” (MEXT 2002, 2003). A key goal for these reforms was to improve English communication skills as an instrument for furthering commercial and national competitiveness (Hagerman, 2009), with a particular focus upon information technology, a sector in which Japan had fallen behind, and which lack of English skills was believed to be a key contributor. In order to improve communication skills, the Action Plan (MEXT, 2003) promoted communicative English language teaching approaches in favour of the traditional grammar-translation methods that had long been used to teach English in Japan. In addition, the Action Plan resulted in the establishment of 100 Super English Language High Schools by 2005, the introduction of minimum English language requirements for non-native (Japanese) teachers of English, the promotion of international exchange programmes for university students, and the inclusion of a listening component on the English section for the university entrance exams (from 2006).

Despite the ambitious goals outlined in the strategic and Action Plans of 2002, 2003, it is evident that the action plan did not have the desired impact on English language communication skills. TOEFL scores in 2012 indicate that Japanese TOEFL scores remained as one of the lowest average scores in Asia behind only Cambodia and Mongolia (ETS, 2013; Hosoki, 2011), a statistic that has been consistent over the past decade. Criticism of the Action Plan cites conflicting ideologies and disparity between stated policy goals and practical application (Butler & Iino, 2005) as potential reasons for the failure to improve English skills. One main concern is the continued emphasis on the university entrance exam, which although included a listening component from 2006, is still heavily dependent on grammar, translation and reading abilities. The importance of the university entrance exam has meant that, in practice, teachers and students are more focused upon teaching *juken eigo* (English for exams) than improvement of communication skills (Hagerman, 2009; Hosoki, 2011).

New proposals and measures for developing proficiency in English for international communication were announced in 2011 (MEXT, 2011), with a focus once again on a communicative approach for foreign language learning, with the aim of creating a balance between

the four language skills. In April 2011 foreign languages were introduced to elementary schools in Japan, a measure which had already been implemented in Korea in 1997 and China in 2001 (see Sections 1.4.3 and 1.4.1 respectively). English classes in junior high are planned to increase by 30%, and English-only language instruction in English classes will begin in senior high, in addition to priorities being given to the development of universities as core centres for English language teaching. There will be a focus upon cultivating communication skills by moving away from teacher-based lectures and the inclusion of student-centred language activities such as speeches, debates, presentations and discussions. Furthermore, more opportunities would be provided for students to interact with English native speaker teachers, through ALTs participating in the JET program. In April 2013, a mid-term report by the Liberal Democrat Party's (LDP) economic revitalization headquarters outlined an expansion of the JET program by more than double, from 4,360 ALTs in 2012 to 10,000 from 2015 (Mie, 2013).

Schooling in Japan consists of 6 years in elementary, 3 years in junior high school, 3 years in senior high school, and 4 years in university, with the first 9 years education compulsory (Hosoki, 2011). English language education previously began in first year junior high, and continued for 6 years until the end of senior high school. Although English was offered as an elective among other foreign languages, it was widely encouraged that English should be the foreign language of choice, with a reported 99% of high school students taking English in junior high (MEXT, 2010). From April 2011, foreign languages were introduced as a compulsory component of the elementary school curriculum for fifth and sixth graders (ages 10-11) under the title *Gaikokugo Katsudou* (foreign language activities) (Hosoki, 2011), but once again, although English is an optional choice of languages, it acts as the *de facto* language for the majority of elementary schools. The fact that English is included as a main component on university entrance exams may be a factor in the continued emphasis on English study at the expense of other foreign languages (Hosoki, 2011).

More recently the Ministry for Education issued a revised curriculum for 2013 emphasising language ability (*gengo ryoku*) in all subjects in order to elevate literacy, reasoning ability and communication skills, with the Japanese language at the centre (MEXT, 2008; Stewart, 2009). The strategy is based on the assumption that skills learnt in the first language will transfer easily to

foreign language learning. In addition there is a further push towards a communicative teaching approach, with more attention given to speaking and listening, and for English classes to be taught in English, a conversion from traditional grammar-translation methods which has been described as decades behind the rest of the world (The Japan Times, 2009). The Ministry for Education has also proposed plans to reform the university entrance exams, which will be replaced by achievement tests taken through high school, be offered two or three times per year, and allow students to choose their best marks when applying for university, beginning from around 2018 (Kyodo, 2013a; Japan Today, 2013). In addition, it is reported that the Ministry for Education is considering making English an official primary school subject (Kyodo, 2013b; Yomiuri Shimbun, 2013), and within the next 5 years, implement a teacher training initiative among selected Japanese elementary teachers (in collaboration with The British Council), who are generally seen as educators and therefore do not specialise in English language teaching (Hosoki, 2011), to educate teachers in English teaching methodologies, who will then be expected to teach training courses to subsequent Japanese elementary teachers (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2013) in preparation for English-only instruction.

1.4.3 The history of English language policy in Korea

The history of English language policy in Korea stretches as far back as the end of the nineteenth century, following trade treaties with the USA and Great Britain. English education was mainly promoted in mission schools established by American immigrants and a number of small interpreters colleges (Kwon, 2009; Takeshita, 2010). The Japanese invasion of 1894 led to dramatic governmental restructure (nicknamed *the Gabo Reforms*), the effects of which were far-reaching, especially within the education sector (So, Kim & Lee, 2012). Over the coming years, education within Korea saw expansion (Choi, 2006), predominantly in the private sector, but also among mission schools, many of which provided English language education. However, the growing control of Japan over educational matters resulted in a reduction in English language education in favour of Japanese language instruction, which was further heightened when Japan formally annexed Korea as part of the Japanese Empire in 1910. Despite a relaxation of Japan's oppressive reforms upon Korea's education system as a result of the 1919 independence movement, Japan's involvement in military campaigns in Manchuria (1931), China (1937) and finally war against the USA (1941) resulted in the Korean education system being prepared to serve the purpose of the

Japanese military (Kim, 2008b). During this period English language education was suppressed, with the Ministry of Education banning English literature, textbooks and English language signs (Kim, 2008a). Growing tension between Japan and the United States of America also resulted in the withdrawal of U.S. citizens from Korea, leaving missionaries, the only remaining source of English language education, in the hands of the Japanese (Kim, 2008b). In addition, the Korean language was outlawed altogether. All school instruction was given in Japanese, and Koreans were forced to use Japanese as a means of everyday communication (ibid).

After Japan's surrender to the Allies on August 15th 1945, an agreement was reached between the USA and Russia to divide Korea at the 38th parallel, Russia governing the North and USA governing the South of the peninsula, with the aim of setting up independent communist and democratic governments in each country respectively. During the US occupation of South Korea (1945-1948) English was installed as the official language, and government positions were given to Koreans that had studied to a high level in the USA. This resulted in the elevated status of English and solidified it as the language of the ruling class, leaving behind a lasting influence. Moreover, under US occupation, English education was established in the Korean curriculum, which continued under the newly formed Republic of Korea (1948). In 1954 the first national curriculum was released, which included English as a component for high school education. English learned was to be a standardised form of American English, whereas pronunciation taught previously had long been British English. Furthermore, the aim of English education was to increase knowledge of English and not on practical communication skills (Choi, 2006). Therefore, as was the case during the Japanese occupation of the Korean peninsula, grammar translation methods were prevalent in English language teaching.

Over the next few decades the national curriculum experienced a number of revisions, with release of the second national curriculum in 1963, the third in 1973/4, the fourth in 1981 and the fifth in 1987/8 (Choi, 2006). Throughout these revisions, the main changes included increased hours of study of English, and a more balanced focus upon the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking. The fifth national curriculum was the first to fully recognise English as a goal for an international language, and to give more emphasis to communication skills in English, in addition

to provisional plans for introducing language education at primary schools (Kim, 2007). Moreover, in 1982, English language became optional in primary schools throughout Korea. It was not until the 6th National curriculum in 1992, however, that dramatic changes in English teaching methods began to take place (Kwon, 2009). For the first time, communicative language teaching methods became the focus, with fluency an aim using learner-centred classes, group activities that encouraged communication, and use of authentic materials (Kim, 2007). The nineties saw a number of innovative changes in English education (Kwon, 2009). In-session English language teacher training was improved for existing EFL teachers to help them to adapt to the more communicative curriculum, there was a shift from a grammar-translation syllabus to a notional functional syllabus, and plans began for English study from the 3rd grade (age 8/9). In addition, the previous university entrance test introduced under Japanese rule was replaced by the College Scholastic Ability Test, which included a listening component and emphasised communicative competence.

In 1996, an initiative to bring more native speaker teachers into the classrooms of Korea was established, called the English Program in Korea (EPIK), which was similar in concept to the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme introduced in Japan in 1987 (see Section 1.4.2). The goal of EPIK was “to enhance English communicative skills of Korea students and teachers, and increase national competitiveness and cultural exchange of globalization” (Ministry of Education, 2006: 1, cited in Kim 2007: 24). As with the JET programme, EPIK requires applicants to be native speakers of English, and only employs teachers from English native speaking countries (USA, Canada, UK & Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, and including South Africa), who were then placed in primary and secondary schools throughout Korea.

1997 saw the introduction of the Seventh National Curriculum, which further extended the focus of English language teaching methodology towards a communicative approach, introducing the initiative to Teach English in English (TEE), in addition to adding recent developments in English language teaching, Task-Based Learning and Whole Language Approach, to the curriculum. The goal of TEE was to increase the input of English in the classroom, using English only where possible. However, the effectiveness of this initiative was questioned (Kang, 2012), with the argument that Korea’s English language teachers did not possess the adequate skills to teach

entirely in English (Kim, 2006; Kwon, 2009; Lee, 2011). In 1997, English also became mandatory in primary education, leading to a significant increase in the number of students studying English. Similar to the education systems in China (see Section 1.4.1) and Japan (see Section 1.4.2), the Korean education system consists of 6 years in primary school, 3 years in middle school, 3 years in high school and 3-4 years in tertiary education, with the first 9 years of schooling compulsory (Yook, 2010). The introduction of English as a compulsory component in primary schools meant that Korean students would gain a minimum of 7 years English study from grade 3 primary school to grade 3 of middle school. However, since there is a high rate of students that continue on to high school, the majority of Korean students experience 10 years of English language study. In addition, the majority of English language in Korea often begins earlier, with parents enrolling their children into private kindergarten/primary schools (*hakwon*). Moreover, English language learning is not confined to the school classroom, with many students studying English as part of extra-curricular activity (e.g. through *haksupji*, private household education, and *kwa-oe*, private tuition). Indeed, it is reported that 83.1% of primary school children enrol in the private education sector (Lee, 2011).

Since the issuance of the Seventh National Curriculum, there have been a number of revisions to help promote the goals of the original mandate. For instance, there has been a greater push for employment of native English speaker teachers, and the creation of English conversation instructor positions to aid in the successful application of communicative teaching strategies. A scholarship programme, Teach and Learn in Korea (TaLK), was developed to attract English native-speaking undergraduates for use as teaching assistants, in return for the cultural experience of living and working in Korea. In-session teacher training has become a focus, in order to retrain Korean EFL teachers to teach English through communicative methods and through the use of English (Yook, 2010). Furthermore, level-sensitive instruction was introduced as a method of improving English language acquisition (Kwon, 2009) in order to provide scaffolding for students with similar abilities.

Kwon (2009) highlights another major change initiated by the government in 2004; the introduction of Gyeonggi English Village, an English language immersion camp designed to provide an 'authentic' environment for learning English (Takeshita, 2010). In the four years after

the opening of Gyeonggi English Village, it is reported that more than 50 English villages were established (Song, 2006, cited in Kim, 2006). English villages employ native English speaker teachers (USA, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa) and offer the opportunity to live in a mock English-speaking environment, and participate in English-led activities. English villages were intended as a short-term intensive camp for Korean students to “experience the culture and daily lives of English-speaking countries” (Takeshita, 2010: 273) at a lower cost for parents than sending children abroad. However, the popularity of English villages was short-lived, with English villages across the country in 2007 reported to have made a loss of 21 billion won (\$19m) (Jeon, 2012).

In 2012 the Seoul education office announced a plan to phase out all native speakers teachers employed at public middle and high schools in Seoul City (The Korea Herald, 2012). The Seoul education office cited poor cost-effectiveness as the main rationale for the phase-out, with middle and high school curricula focusing mainly on English reading and grammar, whereas native English speaker teachers were deemed to be more suited to a speaking-based syllabus such as that taught in public elementary schools throughout the city. The Seoul education office supported this decision with the claim that 95.6 per cent of (Korean) English teachers had attained a certificate in TEE, an initiative that began in 2009 to prepare teachers to teach more effectively using English as a language of instruction (Ramirez, 2013). However, the language teaching competence of Korean teachers of English has been questioned; a study conducted in 2011 found that only 18.5 per cent and 11 per cent of Korean teachers of English in middle schools and high schools in Seoul respectively were capable of delivering English-only instruction (The Korea Herald, 2012). However, budget constraints have played a main part in the wide-scale cuts (Ramirez, 2013), and the phase-out seems set to continue. Nevertheless, the Seoul education office has demonstrated commitment in providing training for Korean teachers of English, and only time will tell if the initiative will prove to be successful.

1.4.4 Similarities and differences in English language education in China, Japan and Korea

The review of English language policy in China, Japan and Korea has identified a number of similarities and differences. The following section provides a brief outline. The following list is not exhaustive, but includes the points deemed most relevant to the study.

1.4.4.1 Similarities

- (i) English is seen as a gateway to economic prosperity and competitiveness in each country i.e. it is deemed to have an instrumental function
- (ii) Traditionally dominated by grammar-translation techniques, although with a recent shift in each country towards a communicative approach due to changing attitudes towards the purpose of English as a means of international and cultural exchange
- (iii) A move to a communicative approach has seen a reliance on native English speaker teachers in the quest to improve speaking and listening skills (although evidence that Korea may be reducing its intake of native speaker teachers as more Korean teachers complete practical training in communicative teaching methodology). Native English speaker teacher exchange programmes in Japan (JET) and Korea (EPIK; TaLK) set up with the aim of improving speaking/listening ability among English language learners.
- (iv) American English is used as the main classroom model in all three countries, particularly in Japan and Korea where there are government schemes employing English native speaker teachers as assistant language teachers, the majority of whom are from the USA.
- (v) The governments of all three countries have opted for the introduction of early years foreign language teaching (with English as the *de facto* language of choice), with China (2001), Japan (2011) and Korea (1997) including foreign languages on the elementary curricula.
- (vi) Compulsory English components are included on university entrance exams in China, Japan and Korea. In addition, Chinese university students are required to pass a summative English language test in order to graduate from university.
- (vii) There has been a growth of private English language education in each country, especially as more parents opt for immersion programmes at kindergarten level in

order to maximise chances of their children's success in attaining English language proficiency. In addition cram schools or extra-curricular tuition popular to help students pass university entrance exams have become popular.

1.4.4.2 Differences

- (i) In China, English language learning tends to be seen by the government as a holistic tool to increase development of life skills. However, the English language policies of Japan and Korea indicate that English is generally seen as simply an instrumental tool for achieving economic prosperity.
- (ii) TOEFL scores indicate that Chinese and Korean students consistently perform better than Japanese students on English language tests, with Japan often performing worst in the Asia region. However, the performance of all three countries is considered relatively low.
- (iii) Although communicative approaches have been adopted by all three countries in recent years, there is a notable emphasis on communication for international exchange and development of life skills in Chinese literature compared with aims presented in Japanese and Korean policy documents. It is not however clear what (if any) effect this has had on the English language attainment of Chinese students, but indicates the differing attitude that China has towards English language education (see point (i) above in comparison to Japan and Korea).

This chapter has provided context for the following study, discussing the world Englishes paradigm and emphasising the importance of investigating attitudes towards Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes among informants from the Expanding Circle. The chapter also outlined the focus of the present study upon international cross-cultural attitudes in China, Japan and Korea. A brief overview of the history of English language education in each country was also presented to the reader as background information. English language policies in each country were shown to be broadly similar, but with some differences, especially among the government aims for learning

English in China. The next chapter will discuss the concept of attitudes in more depth, and provide a rationale for why the study of language attitudes is considered important.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

The first chapter of the thesis has introduced the background to the research in terms of the current view of the English language within the Expanding Circle, and the emphasis placed upon English language education within China, Japan and Korea.

Chapter two introduces the concept of attitudes and language attitudes in order to further inform the underpinning theory behind the current study and a brief overview of the findings of previous language attitude studies.

Chapter three focuses more specifically on the existing literature on language attitude studies within China, Japan and Korea, giving background to each study, outlining the methodologies used and the findings of each study. Chapter three helps to inform the choice of methodologies used for the present study (see Chapter four), and the key findings from which comparisons may be drawn with the results of the current study in the results and discussion chapters (Chapters 5 and 6 respectively).

Chapter four provides a detailed description of the aims of the present study, and the methodology employed to achieve those aims. The chapter begins by outlining the objectives of the study and the research questions followed by a description of the informants that participated in the study. It then describes the research instrument including the aims and the design process, followed by an account of the pilot studies conducted in order to design the individual parts of the research instrument, and what was learnt from conducting the pilot studies. Finally, the chapter closes with an outline of the procedure used when implementing the research instrument.

Chapter five presents the background information of the participating informants, and the results of the study, offering preliminary discussion which draws comparisons with relevant language attitude

research (see Chapter three). This chapter is divided into three distinct sections. Part one presents the descriptive statistics of the survey; part two outlines the results of the speech evaluation experiment and discusses the findings with reference to previous research. In addition, in part two statistical analyses are presented and discussed. Part three outlines the comments given by informants for the explicit attitude experiment, including the social stereotypes towards each national group, and the linguistic stereotypes of English speakers from China, Japan and Korea. The comments provided are quantified and analysed in respect to speaker evaluations.

Chapter six provides a more in-depth discussion addressing in order the research questions presented in Chapter four, in addition to any conclusions that can be drawn from the findings.

Finally, Chapter seven presents an overview of the main conclusions drawn in Chapter six, outlining broader trends found as a result of the current study. Furthermore, potential implications are discussed, in addition to recommendations for further study. The chapter concludes by highlighting to the reader possible limitations of the study.

Chapter 2: Attitudes, Stereotypes and Language Attitudes

Overview

The previous chapter gave an outline of the current global status of the English language, arguing that the English language is no longer learned primarily for the purpose of native-non-native speaker communication, but as a means of communication between non-native speakers who do not share the same first language. The chapter set up the focus of the present study: to investigate non-native speaker attitudes towards English as spoken by other non-native speakers of English, using East Asian countries as a case study. A brief overview of current English language teaching policies were described for China, Japan and (South) Korea, providing background information for the reader, and to highlight the emphasis with which English language teaching is given in such countries in order to promote international relations.

This chapter will provide further background to the present study, defining the concept of attitudes, language attitudes and why the study of language attitudes is considered important. The chapter will also outline some common findings of language attitude studies, and give a brief overview of methods used in the measurement of language attitudes. The aim of the chapter is to provide the reader with the necessary background of recent attitude theory that underpins the present study, and to understand why the present study is felt to be important in the field of attitudes towards the English language.

2.1. What are Attitudes?

Attitudes were once defined as “the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology” (Allport, 1935: 798). The study of attitudes has since become a key component in social psychology, sociolinguistics and beyond. However, defining the term attitude is more difficult than it may first appear, since attitudes are believed to be a hypothetical construct (Ajzen, 2005) and attitudes are not directly observable (Bohner & Wänke, 2002).

An attitude can be defined as “*a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour*” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993: 1). The following paragraphs will outline the complexity of, and common beliefs about, the nature of attitudes, with the aim of providing the reader with a suitable background to understand the rationale for studying attitudes and language attitudes in particular.

2.1.1. Why do we have attitudes?

People are believed to form attitudes because they are useful. The world is a complex place in which people encounter a large volume of information, and by forming and maintaining attitudes towards certain objects people are able to master their environment. Researchers (e.g. Katz, 1960) have posited that attitudes satisfy one or more of four functions:

- Utilitarian function (a.k.a. instrumental function) – Attitudes are believed to serve a utilitarian function which alerts people of the rewards and punishments of certain objects and situations. By processing this information as a reward or a punishment it helps us to judge whether to approach or avoid such objects or situations, thereby maximising our rewards and minimising punishments (Ennis & Zanna, 2000).
- Knowledge function (a.k.a. object appraisal function) – Attitudes are believed to serve a knowledge function which provides a simple structure for organising and handling large volumes of information (Bohner & Wänke, 2002) in order to improve understanding of the world by giving meaning to the self and its relation to objects in the environment (Maio & Olson, 1995).

- Ego-defensive function – An ego-defensive function allows us to maintain our attitudes about the self and the world in the face of adversity i.e. when we receive conflicting information that may put our identity (or to a larger extent, our lives) at risk. *Terror management theory*, for instance, explains how individuals cope with the fear of one's own mortality by focusing on the creation of a group identity, and helps us to understand why ingroup members (members of one's own social group) are evaluated favourably, and outgroup members (members who are not part of one's own social group) are downgraded (Bohner & Wänke, 2002)
- Value-expressive function (a.k.a. social identity function) – The value-expressive function reflects a more social dimension of attitudes, whereby attitudes exist in order to express values that are held in high importance to the individual. In order to strengthen these attitudes, individuals position themselves within groups that help to support and reinforce these values (Katz, 1960).

Since there are different functions for attitudes, the same attitude object may serve to satisfy more than one function of attitudes. It is important that researchers can identify what functions attitudes serve, why, and how this may inform or guide the way in which individuals express themselves and behave.

2.1.2. Attitudes structure and the attitudes-behaviour relationship

Attitudes are thought to comprise cognitive (i.e. thoughts), affective (i.e. feelings) and conative (i.e. behaviour) components (Breckler, 1984; Ostrom, 1968). The relationship between these components is hotly debated and researched, but there is evidence to suggest that attitudes may influence behaviour and vice-versa, albeit with differing degrees of consistency. There has been evidence of a weak correlation between attitudes and behaviour (e.g. Le Pere, 1934; Wicker, 1969), in addition to evidence that attitudes can be predictive of behaviour (e.g. Kelley & Mirer, 1974). There are researchers that posit that individuals make conscious decisions about whether to behave in consistency with their intentions (see Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Ajzen, 1991; Ajzen & Madden, 1986) and those that believe that attitudes can lead to involuntary behaviour (see Fazio, 1990). There are also those that believe that individuals strive to keep their attitudes and their behaviour in

harmony, and thus adjust either accordingly to avoid *cognitive dissonance* i.e. attitude-behaviour inconsistency (see Festinger, 1957). Thus, it appears that in some situations, attitudes may have a direct effect upon behaviour.

It is believed that certain conditions are necessary for greater attitude-behaviour consistency. Glassman & Albarracin (2006) have outlined that the correlation between attitudes and behaviour may be strengthened when:

- attitudes are accessible and easier to recall
- attitudes are stable over time
- people have had direct experience with the attitude object (i.e. *mere exposure*)
- people frequently report their attitudes

(Glassman & Albarracin, 2006)

Thus, despite the debate regarding the complexities of the attitude-behaviour relationship, researchers are generally in consensus that attitudes are (to some extent) predictive of behaviour (Garrett, 2010; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005) and that this predictability may be dependent on the context, the attitude object, and a number of other factors such as attitude strength, attitude accessibility, attitude stability, and frequency that attitudes are overtly elicited, many of which may be determined by the way in which attitudes are formed.

2.1.3. How attitudes are formed

Although attitudes may be partly genetically heritable (Tesser, 1993; Tesser & Martin, 1996, Dodds *et al*, 2011), where genetics have been shown to influence an individual's temperament, personality, intelligence, and sensory processing (Olsen *et al*, 2001), attitudes are believed to be largely acquired as a result of environmental or social influences (Bohner & Wänke, 2002). An in-depth discussion of these processes is beyond the scope of the present overview, however two popular theories posit reasons which may result in acquired attitudes: classical and operant conditioning.

Classical conditioning is described as “the phenomenon whereby a stimulus that elicits an emotional response [...] is repeatedly paired with a neutral stimulus that does not [...], until the

neutral stimulus takes on the emotional properties of the first stimulus” (Aronson *et al*, 2012: 167). The most frequently cited example of classical conditioning is Pavlov’s experiment using dogs; Pavlov played an audio tone before the dogs’ feeding time, which over time caused the dogs to salivate at hearing the tone, independently of whether there was food available.

Another way in which affective attitudes may be learned is by *operant conditioning*. Operant conditioning is learned behaviour that is followed either by a reward (positive reinforcement) or a punishment. B.F. Skinner, a behaviourist theorist, observed the process of operant conditioning in numerous studies with animals (e.g. rats, pigeons), where a behaviour was repeated when the animal was rewarded with food, or when a repeated behaviour resulted in reduced pain/punishment.

While there have been debates regarding the existence of classical and operant conditioning in humans (e.g. Brewer, 1974), recent research suggests that not only are the classical and operant conditioning two methods of forming response sets to objects, but they can also be acquired through observation and verbal information (for a review, see Kirsch *et al*, 2004). The implications of such conditioning for humans suggests that influences from the social environment e.g. parents, peers, groups that an individual belongs to, or wider society “norms” and beliefs, are a large part of the attitudes that we acquire, and that this process may occur from a very young age.

2.1.4. Attitudes as explicit and implicit

An individual can hold attitudes on two levels: both explicitly and implicitly. Explicit attitudes have been defined as attitudes that are “conscious, deliberative and controllable” (Dovidio, Kawakami & Beach, 2001: 175-176). Explicit attitudes therefore are deemed to be attitudes which involve reflection on and awareness of the judgmental process (Bassili & Brown, 2005), and can be easily reported. Such attitudes have been studied by direct means i.e. by simply asking informants what their attitudes are; if we are consciously aware of our attitudes and judgemental process, then we should, in theory, be able to discuss our attitudes openly.

Implicit attitudes, on the other hand, have been defined as attitudes that involve “lack of awareness and are unintentionally activated” (Dovidio, Kawakami & Beach, 2001: 176). It is thus believed that, in contrast to explicit attitudes, implicit attitudes do not involve reflection on and awareness of judgemental processes (Bassili & Brown, 2005). If explicit attitudes are attitudes that we are aware

of and can be elicited by simply asking informants to state their attitudes towards an object, implicit attitudes are attitudes which we are not aware of and can only be measured by inference using more indirect measures.

Research has shown that explicit and implicit attitudes can be contradictory i.e. what individuals overtly say that they think and feel may be different to what they covertly think and feel. The existence of these dual attitudes implied that an individual could hold two different attitudes towards the same object at any point in time. This inconsistency between explicit and implicit attitudes initially raised the possibility that implicit attitudes, being involuntary, uncontrollable, and unconscious, represented a more accurate reflection of people's inner feelings than explicit attitudes (Bassili & Brown, 2005), since implicit attitudes were believed to be rooted in childhood experiences, (and are thus more stable), whereas explicit attitudes were believed to be rooted in more recent experiences, (and are therefore less stable) (Rudman *et al*, 2007).

However, the claim that implicit attitudes are more enduring than explicit attitudes has since been challenged, with reports that suggest that both implicit and explicit attitudes can be formed on-the-spot (Schwartz, 2007), can be both stable and malleable (Blair, 2002), and can differ depending on the time and context in which the attitude is elicited (Bodenhausen & Gawronski, 2013). This has led researchers to propose that individuals can hold multiple attitudes (both implicit and explicit) towards an object (Bassili & Brown, 2005; Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005). In effect, this means that an individual can hold positive and negative feelings towards the same object, both explicitly (i.e. that they consciously aware of) and implicitly (that they are not consciously aware of), and that these attitudes can be old attitudes (which were formed from past experiences), or new attitudes (which were formed by recent and/or immediate experiences). The attitudes that are reported or inferred at any point in time may depend on the context in which the attitude is elicited, the mood of the individual, and the interactions between these multiple attitudes towards the object at the time that the attitude is reported or inferred.

2.1.5. Stability of attitudes

Despite the apparent complex nature of stable and malleable (i.e. changeable) attitudes, researchers believe that the stability of attitudes is dependent on a number of factors, particularly on the

strength of the attitude (Bodenhausen & Gawronski, 2012), the indicators of which may be certainty, extremity or accessibility of the attitude (Krosnick, 1988). Factors that may influence the strength of attitude that were listed in Bodenhausen & Gawronski (2012: 3) are presented in a brief overview below.

- Attitudes of individuals with higher genetic heritability are generally stronger and more stable (e.g. Olson *et al*, 2001)
- Individuals situated within relatively more attitudinally homogenous social networks tend to have stronger, more stable attitudes (Visser & Mirable, 2004)
- Negative attitudes are often more reluctant to change than positive attitudes, partly due to the fact that individuals with negative attitudes towards an object are less likely to have further experience with the object than those with positive or ambivalent attitudes towards the object (Fazio, Eiser & Shook, 2004)

In summary, the literature so far has posited that the concept of attitudes have been shown to be very complex. The effect attitudes have on behaviour may be weak or strong depending on the circumstances. They may be formed over time or instantaneously, as a result of the experience of or influences from the social environment, or as a result of inherited genetic traits. An individual may hold multiple positive or negative attitudes towards the same attitude object at any point in time, which may be conscious or unconscious, and which may vary in their attitude strength (and as a result their stability). Nevertheless, there is enough evidence to suggest that attitudes can be sufficiently stable, dependent on a number of factors, and attitudes can therefore be measured (Garrett, 2010). In order to gain a more complete understanding of the attitudes that are studied, a mixed methodology, which aims to measure both implicit and explicit attitudes, is felt to be beneficial. Furthermore, it is evident that the apparent stability of certain attitudes under the aforementioned situations means that the study of attitudes can still be useful in predicting future behaviours (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2005). As Gass & Seiter highlight (1999: 41, cited in Garrett, 2010: 24) “there wouldn’t be much point in studying attitudes if they were not, by and large, predictive of behaviour”.

2.2 The Social Identity Approach

The concept of social identity was born out of the need to understand intergroup relations (relationships between distinctive groups e.g. English versus Scottish, Whites versus Blacks, Manchester United supporters versus Manchester City supporters) in terms of psychological and social processes, and the behaviour towards these groups. The social identity approach generally centres on the notion of ‘self’, and how the self is positioned within group memberships. Self is generally conceptualised as “a set of cognitive representations reflecting a person’s personality traits, organized by linkages, across representations created by personal experience or biography” (Owens, 2003: 206). Whereas self is believed to be a cognitive process based upon self-reflection, identity is believed to be “a tool (or in some ways a stratagem) by which individuals categorize themselves in the world” (ibid: 206). The most influential theory to aid in the understanding of this relationship between self and identity was Tajfel’s *Social Identity Theory* (SIT), which emerged in the 1970s, and was further developed by Tajfel & Turner into the *Self-categorisation Theory* in the 1980s. The following subsections provide a brief overview of the theories, which although are interlinked, must be considered as two separate theories.

2.2.1 Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory refers to the concept of an individual’s “self-conception as a group member” (Abrams & Hogg, 1990: 2). Emotional and value significance given to certain group memberships are treated as psychologically meaningful, “as an expression of how people define themselves socially and of their understanding of the reality of their intergroup relationships” (Turner, 1999: 19). Tajfel’s research in the 1970s became influential in the quest to understand the psychological basis of intergroup discrimination. Tajfel and his colleagues (e.g. Tajfel *et al.* 1971) sought to investigate the minimal conditions that would result in intergroup discrimination. These minimal pair studies frequently found that informants had a tendency to depart from the strategy of fairness in the presence of distinct groups. For example, informants would maximise rewards towards ingroups (groups within which they consider themselves a member) over outgroups (groups which they do not consider themselves a member), regardless of whether both groups could benefit more if the groups acted in terms of the greatest common good. This *ingroup favouritism* was believed to

be triggered merely by individuals categorising themselves as group members. In their attempt to understand this tendency to favour the ingroup, Tajfel and Turner (1979a) posited that once individuals had defined themselves as part of a social categorisation, they sought *positive distinctiveness* (i.e. to differentiate positively between their ingroup in comparison to an outgroup) in order to raise self-esteem. This aids in explaining why groups tend to see each other along demarcated lines i.e. in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them’.

Although the existence of ingroup favouritism was prevalent in many early studies on minimal pairs, it would be a misinterpretation to suggest that group members are driven automatically to display prejudice or discriminatory behaviour. In fact, many studies have also shown the existence of *outgroup* favouritism (e.g. Mummendey & Schreiber, 1983; Reynolds, Turner & Haslam, 2000; Terry & O’Brien, 2001). This suggests that the existence of ingroup favouritism depends very much on the context within which individuals find themselves. One such study conducted within the field of organisational behaviour demonstrated that high-status employees in a hospital setting showed ingroup favouritism over low status employees along status-relevant dimensions (e.g. prestige, job opportunities), whereas low-status employees, seemingly aware of their inferiority in terms of status showed outgroup favouritism along status-relevant dimensions, but sought to boost self-esteem by displaying ingroup favouritism along status-irrelevant dimensions (e.g. industrial harmony, modern accommodation, relaxed work environment) (Terry & Callan, 1998).

Tajfel (1978) suggested that behaviour can generally be represented by a bipolar *interpersonal-intergroup continuum*. At one end of the continuum interaction results in *interpersonal behaviour* i.e. where behaviour is driven by an individual’s salience as an individual. In contrast, on the other end of the continuum, behaviour results in intergroup behaviour, where social identity (in other words, knowledge of group membership) is salient. It is believed that the more behaviour becomes defined in intergroup terms, the higher outgroups are perceived as homogenous (*outgroup homogeneity*) i.e. to possess similar characteristics and mindsets. Outgroups may thus be considered to be “all the same” or to possess similar characteristics when social identity/group membership is more salient to the individual. Moreover, Tajfel (1975) posited that an individual’s *social structure* is also affected by social identity salience. According to Tajfel, behaviour

remained at an interpersonal level when individuals believed that social mobility was a possibility i.e. that they could move freely between groups to improve their social status. Conversely, intergroup behaviour was believed to be associated with an individual's social change beliefs i.e. it is impossible to move between groups for self-enhancement and the only way to do so would be through collective behaviour as a group member, for example, through trade unions.

The impact of social identity theory since its emergence has been vast. In fact, the theory has been widely adopted, researched and debated among the fields of organisational psychology, clinical and health psychology, linguistics, social psychology and political science (see Haslam, 2004). Social identity theory, however, had its limitations in that it did not consider in-depth the cognitive processes underpinning social identity salience. In order to address such issues, further research by Tajfel & Turner led to the development of the *self-categorisation theory*, explained below.

2.2.2. Self-Categorisation Theory

Whereas social identity theory had formed the basis for understanding intergroup behaviour, it did not fully consider how social identities become salient, nor consider what consequences this salience has for group members. *Self-categorisation theory* thus aimed to extend what scholars had already learned about social identity, offering a broader explanatory scope for understanding the underlying cognitive processes involved. The self-categorisation theory was concerned with defining the relationship between personal and social identity. Personal identity was defined as “self-categories which define an individual as a unique person in terms of their individual differences from other (ingroup) persons” (Turner, 1999: 12). Social identity was more concerned with the self and the relationship to other (outgroup) persons: “self-categories which define the individual in terms of his or her shared similarities with members of certain social categories in contrast to other social categories” (ibid: 12). Social identity is thus more inclusive than personal identity. For example, ‘scientist’ is more inclusive than the term ‘biologist’.

Turner (1982) also posited that Tajfel's interpersonal/intergroup continuum was underpinned by the cognitive process of defining the self-concept, which could also be represented along a continuum from personal identity on one end to social identity on the other. When personal identity is salient this results in interpersonal behaviour and when social identity becomes salient the result

is intergroup behaviour. Turner termed this self-change from personal identity to social identity salience *depersonalisation*. Depersonalisation involves *self-stereotyping* where the individual categorises themselves as indistinguishable from the rest of the ingroup e.g. 'I am British, and we British are polite, patient, and have a stiff-upper lip'. Thus, whereas Tajfel's social identity theory predicted that individuals had a tendency to view outgroup members as homogenous when behaviour becomes defined in intergroup terms, Turner's self-categorisation theory also predicted that ingroup members viewed ingroup members as homogenous when social identity salience is high. In both cases, individuals are likely to see their ingroup and outgroups in terms of stereotypical characteristics. The self-categorisation theory thus emphasises that it is an individual's *self-categorisation* that is believed to provide the fundamental basis of their social orientation towards others. Group behaviour is therefore associated with change in an individual's self-categorisation away from a personal identity and towards a social identity.

It is believed that one determinant for social categorisation and its salience is fit. Fit is believed to have two components: *comparative fit* and *normative fit* (Oakes, 1987). Comparative fit involves the concept of *meta-contrast*, where the differences between sets of members must be larger than the difference within them; when this occurs, categories (i.e. groups) may be seen as distinct from one another. Normative fit is concerned with an individual's expectations about the categories. In order for group members to be categorised as distinct, the differences between members not only need to be larger than those within members (comparative fit), but also meet the expectations that satisfy those social categorisations. In other words, individuals must meet the stereotypical characteristics associated with that specific group membership in order to be categorised as part of that group. For a definition of and the functions of stereotypes see Section 2.3 below.

2.3. Stereotypes

2.3.1. Social stereotypes

Stereotypes can be defined as "beliefs about the characteristics of important social groups in [our] environment" (Stangor & Schaller, 1996: 5). By the using the term 'beliefs' we are acknowledging

the cognitive representation that has been stored in the memory (Ottati *et al*, 2005). This cognitive representation may associate a particular group with traits (e.g. lazy) or behaviours (e.g. sleeps all day), which may be correct or incorrect, positive or negative, but are almost always an exaggeration (Tajfel, 1969).

Social stereotypes are believed to be the result of a cognitive process, the common and natural process of categorisation (Allport, 1954). This categorization acts as a ‘simplifying mechanism’ (Fiske & Taylor, 1991) with the task of receiving and processing the incredible volume of stimuli that we are confronted with on a day-to-day basis; there is so much information that we have to reconstruct information into a simpler model in order to manage with it (Lippmann, 2012: 16).

However, stereotypes are only a part of intergroup processes that include *stereotyping*, *prejudice* and *discrimination*, and which more or less reflect the three component attitude model (see Section 2.1.2.), where stereotypes are a cognitive representation, prejudice is a negative affective response or evaluation, and discrimination is a negative or harmful behaviour toward a group. Since stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination reflect the three attitude components, they too are often causally interrelated (Ottati *et al*, 2005). Furthermore, these components reflect *intergroup bias*, the natural tendency to prefer one group over another.

There are a number of perspectives that help us to understand why intergroup bias occurs. *The economic perspective* posits that humans are naturally competitive and that prejudice and discrimination arise from competition over limited resources (Gilovich *et al*, 2013: 416). *The motivational perspective* emphasises the psychological needs and wishes that lead to intergroup conflict or prejudice. Individuals are believed to self-categorise themselves into group membership(s) - also called our ‘social identity’ (Rosenberg, 1979), and seek to derive self-esteem from these memberships, resulting in a positive bias towards the group in which they consider themselves a member (also called ‘*ingroup bias*’). Tajfel & Turner (1979b) called this tendency for ingroup bias *social identity theory* (see Section 2.2.1). This ingroup bias inevitably leads to a less favourable attitude towards outgroups (i.e. groups that an individual does not deem themselves to belong to), and this stereotyping or prejudice towards outgroups can act to boost or maintain self-esteem (Fein & Spencer, 1997).

The cognitive perspective claims that social categorisation is an inevitable process, which is necessary to help us to prescribe meaning and structure to our worlds (Turner *et al*, 1987). Cognitive categorisations are also useful in allowing people to process information efficiently i.e. by conserving cognitive resources which could be then used to complete other tasks (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). However, the result of this simplifying process often results in inaccuracy and error in the information that is stored. For example, the exaggeration that occurs with social stereotypes is believed to be a result of the process of accentuation of intra-group (ingroup) similarities and inter-group (outgroup) differences (Tajfel, 1969), i.e. the perceived similarities between members of the ingroup in comparison to the perceived differences that occur between an ingroup and an outgroup are exaggerated. Furthermore, members of outgroups are often incorrectly perceived to be more homogenous than members of the ingroup – what is termed *the outgroup homogeneity effect* (see Judd & Park, 1988).

Prejudice can be formed and reinforced by the social environment in which we live, through operant conditioning (see Section 2.1.3.), where, for example, a parent's approval of their child's racist comments may cause the child to develop racial prejudice (Ottati *et al*, 2005), or through classical conditioning (see Section 2.1.3.), where, for example, a child may sense fear in their parents' reactions towards a group of hooded youths, resulting in an association of fear with hooded youths for the child, which may in turn foster prejudice.

In congruence with research advocating the existence of explicit and implicit attitudes (see Section 2.1.4.), research has shown that reactions to group stereotypes can be unconscious (Wittenbrink, Judd & Park, 2001), and may differ from our conscious thoughts or beliefs. This finding is particularly relevant in modern society, where it has become less socially acceptable to express overt prejudices and stereotypes that were common in the past, causing conflict “between what people really think and feel and what people think they *should* think and feel” (Gilovich, 2013: 410, italics in original).

The implications of stereotypes and prejudice are potentially serious for intergroup relations. Garrett (2010: 33) highlights the effect that evaluations of outgroups can have upon behaviour, believing that, potentially, “[t]here can be implications for how people act towards each other”.

This is further supported by research into intergroup relations and conflict: “Difficulties in intergroup relations often result in intergroup conflict, and intergroup cooperation can be difficult to achieve” (Ottati *et al*, 2005: 727)

One challenge posed by stereotypes is that they are believed to be generally very difficult to change (Garrett, 2010: 33). This, however, indicates that stereotypes, often the result of beliefs, thoughts and feelings acquired through social environment and influence, may be more stable, and therefore easier to measure with a higher level of consistency. This is supported by research findings of Visser & Mirable (2004, cited in Bodenhausen & Gawronski, 2013: 959) who demonstrated that “individuals who are situated within more attitudinally homogenous social networks tend to have stronger, more stable attitudes”.

2.3.2. Linguistic stereotypes

Linguistic stereotypes are defined as “linguistic forms (or patterns) which in the mind of *hearer* show an exceptionally high degree of awareness of the relation they bear to a particular social categorization.” (Kristiansen, 2003: 80, emphasis in original). This definition emphasises the speech form as heard by an outgroup member rather than as spoken by a member of the language variety itself since linguistic stereotypes are often considered by some to be “imprecise general characteristics of the speech forms of particular social groups” (Honey, 1998: 99). Imprecise categorisations are thus in line with definitions of social stereotypes in that they are exaggerations (Tajfel, 1969).

Linguistic stereotyping (by categorising outgroup members based upon imprecise - exaggerated - general linguistic forms or patterns) are thus often interpreted negatively; Linguistic stereotypes may be expressive in value, where satirical reproduction of linguistic stereotypes may reflect negative perceptions of membership of a speech community as both easy and worthless (Hodge & Kress, 1988: 86). However, as with social stereotypes, linguistic stereotypes may be correct or incorrect, or positive or negative (see social stereotypes, Section 2.3.1.). Kristiansen (2003) claims that there must not only be a distinction between the linguistic form from both a speaker-orientated and hearer-orientated perception, but also between ‘real’ accent and ‘stereotyped accent’

(Kristiansen, 2003: 80-81) i.e. the linguistic variation as spoken within a group membership, and the imprecise labelling of general linguistic characteristics by the hearer.

According to Kristiansen (ibid), interpreting this stereotyped accent from a cognitive perspective, such as by considering the *outgroup homogeneity effect* (see Section 2.3.1.), can allow a positive perspective of these linguistic stereotypes to be taken, which can be seen as useful and necessary by-products of categorisation: “To *hearer*, as member of an outgroup with respect to *speaker*, linguistic stereotypes might well operate as a useful cognitive tool for purposes of general identification, characterization and categorization.” (Kristiansen, 2003: 81). Thus, stereotypes in general can be seen as the necessary simplification of information rather than as a function to boost self-esteem and therefore harbour prejudice against an outgroup (Fein & Spencer, 1997): “Both linguistic and social stereotypes can certainly be used to caricature groups we do not identify with, but perhaps this is no more than a side-effect, and not the primary function” (Kristiansen, 2003: 81).

Piche *et al* (1978) discussed a *linguistic stereotype hypothesis*, which concluded that (to the hearer) “speech elicits social identifications which in turn trigger those trait ascriptions to the speaker which are stereotypically associated with [the speaker’s] social group”. Thus, attitudes about an individual, which may be based on existing cognitive representations, may be evoked by hearing linguistic cues that are identifiable to a social group membership. Despite the claim that stereotypical judgements may be elicited in response to language varieties, Nesdale & Rooney (1996) highlighted the relative lack of attention that researchers have devoted to investigating to what extent (if any) that geographically based language varieties evoke stereotypes associated with each language, dialect or accent group (Nesdale & Rooney, 1996: 134).

2.4. Language attitudes

2.4.1. What are language attitudes?

There has been a large body of research into *language attitudes*, or “evaluative reactions of different groups to verbal communications delivered in a variety of accents, dialects and languages” (Nesdale & Rooney, 1996: 133). These language attitudes often tend to represent affective (implicit

or explicit) judgements towards the speech style, accent or dialect of a speaker, typically the degree of valence (i.e. positivity/negativity) with which the hearer attributes to the language variation that they are hearing i.e. how pleasant or unpleasant they deem the speaker's speech production to be.

It is unclear exactly what causes a language variety to be deemed more pleasant than another. One possible explanation proposes that the sound qualities/features of different languages may be inherently more pleasant than others (the *inherent value hypothesis*, Giles, Bourhis & Davies, 1974). Although folk perceptions (i.e. perceptions of the public), generally reflect the belief that inherent linguistic or aesthetic qualities exist between languages or language variations (Edwards, 2011), the consensus among language attitude researchers is that attitudes towards language varieties are a result of social connotations and perceived social norms associated with speaking a language variety (also known as the *imposed norm hypothesis*, Giles, Bourhis & Davies, 1974; or *the social connotation hypothesis*, Trudgill & Giles, 1978). In other words, language varieties carry social meaning (Garrett, 2010), and hearing a language or a language variety acts as a trigger which evokes attitudes (i.e. prejudice or stereotypes) about members of the perceived speech community. Thus, when we are talking about attitudes towards language or language variation we are actually talking about attitudes towards the people who speak them. The belief that hearing a language or language variety may act as a trigger for these attitudes (that are based upon social connotations), is in agreement with Piche *et al*'s (1978) *linguistic stereotype hypothesis* (see Section 2.3.2.).

2.4.2. How are language attitudes measured?

Since attitudes are a hypothetical construct, and can be both implicit and/or explicit in nature (see Section 2.1.4.), a number of research methodologies have been designed to measure evaluative responses to language and language variation. Generally, there are three methodological research approaches, *the societal treatment approach*, *the direct approach* and *the indirect approach* (Garrett, 2007: 116). Societal treatment approaches include observational, participant observation and ethnographic studies of sources in the public domain, such as media, and government/educational policy documents (Garrett, 2010). For instance, one well-cited study investigated English language usage in Japanese advertisements (Haarmann, 1984, 1989). Haarmann found that, in Japan, the French language had stereotypical associations with elegance,

attractiveness and sophistication, and so advertisers used French as a tool to portray these characteristic traits in their products. In contrast, the English language was used to portray internationalisation, reliability, high quality and pragmatism. Thus, analysing media representations of languages and language varieties and their usage may provide a useful insight into folk perceptions and beliefs about language variation.

2.4.2.1 The Direct approach

A large body of research has utilized a *direct approach* to elicit explicit language attitudes i.e. attitudes of which an individual is consciously aware and able to self-report (see Section 2.1.4.). The direct approach involves directly asking individuals to report their attitudes towards a language or language variety, using questionnaires and a range of interview techniques (i.e. structured, semi-structured, unstructured interviews and focus groups). Likert scales are popular within direct measures of language attitudes, where informants are asked to rate their degree of agreement with statements from ‘strongly agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’. Such direct methods have been used to measure the attitudes towards second language learning (e.g. Gardner & Lambert, 1972) and attitudes towards minority languages (e.g. Sharp *et al*, 1973). However, direct measures of language attitudes are often criticised for lacking validity. Since informants are being asked to explicitly state their attitudes towards a language or language variety, answers can often be subject to *social desirability bias* (e.g. Dörnyei, 2003: 12) i.e. where informants’ answers follow the norms for what is perceived to be socially acceptable, rather than what they truly feel, and *acquiescence bias* (Cronbach, 1946), where informants give answers that they perceive the interviewer wants to hear.

Despite concerns over the validity of the elicited attitudes, there has been a growing interest in recording public attitudes towards language, since it is believed that these attitudes are a reflection of societal beliefs and attitudes. Research in folk linguistics (i.e. public perception of language) has aimed to collect and record explicit attitudes towards language variety, in particular towards dialects and accents. A common method of collecting folk perceptions of dialects is known as *perceptual dialectology*. Perceptual dialectology involves providing informants with map tasks, upon which informants are asked to circle regions where they perceive dialect boundaries to exist.

Perceptual dialectology experiments thus help researchers to understand public perceptions towards language varieties, such as where variation is thought to occur and how extensive those regions are. The most seminal perceptual dialectology study was conducted by Dennis Preston (1989), who investigated folk perceptions of dialects and accents in the USA. Preston provided informants with a blank map of the USA (including state boundaries), who were then instructed to draw lines/circles around the areas which they perceived to be the main speech regions of the USA, and to label them. Preston found that folk perceptions of dialect boundaries in the USA often transcended geographical boundaries and linguistic boundaries as determined by experienced linguistics. Furthermore, informants not only labelled the regions they had circled but often left descriptive and attitudinal comments, such as labelling New York accents to be '*fast and rude*', Californian accents as '*valley girl*', southern accents as '*hillbilly*' and mid-west accents as '*accent-free/normal*'.

Recent adaptations to traditional perceptual dialectology map tasks have allowed researchers to gain a more complete understanding of language attitudes. McKenzie (2010) introduced an adapted perceptual dialectology experiment in his study of Japanese attitudes towards varieties of English. The experiment involved investigating Japanese informants' perceptions towards Japanese regional dialects and accents, which were then compared to attitudes they held towards varieties of English speech. The study concluded that informants that were more aware of regional linguistic differences within Japan were more favourable in their evaluations towards a variety of English speakers. The use of perceptual dialectology experiments therefore are useful in gaining a more complete picture of the processes involved in evaluating speakers of languages or language varieties when used in combination with other methodologies.

2.4.2.2. The indirect approach

In order to avoid issues with validity (as discussed above – see Section 2.4.2.1.), innovative methods were developed to measure attitudes indirectly. The indirect approach aims to elicit attitudes towards a language or language variety without directly asking informants what they think or feel about that specific language or language variety. The indirect approach has tended to use a variation of the *matched guise technique*, which was pioneered by Lambert, *et al.* (1960) in their

study of language attitudes towards English and French speakers in Montreal Canada. In the study, informants listened to speakers of French and English (who were recorded reading from the same passage of text) and were asked to rate them on a set of traits presented on *semantic differential scales*. For instance, the adjective trait ‘pleasant’ would be listed on one side of a seven-point scale and a bipolar opposite adjective (e.g. ‘unpleasant’) listed on the opposite side of the scale. Informants would then listen to the speaker and rate them according to the speaker’s perceived level of pleasantness i.e. where 1 is the most pleasant and 7 is the most unpleasant (or vice-versa). In Lambert *et al.*’s (1960) study, however, the listeners were unaware that the English and French speakers were in fact the same person, a bilingual English and French speaker who was considered to be a fluent native speaker of both languages. By controlling for effects of voice of the speaker and the message, listeners were deemed to be judging only the variety/accent of the speakers, therefore any difference in evaluations is a result of the accents being judged differently by the listeners rather than the personality or voice qualities of the individual speakers (Garrett, 2007). This approach is thus labelled as indirect because informants are unaware of exactly what they are evaluating, which in this case were accents.

A further adaptation of the matched guise technique is the *verbal guise technique*. The verbal guise technique differs from the matched guise technique by using different speakers to provide the language varieties under investigation rather than one speaker speaking a number of guises. The rationale behind using different speakers is to provide more ‘authentic’ language varieties, since it can be very difficult to find speakers who are highly competent in reproducing all the nuances associated with a realistic dialect or accent for more than one guise. The verbal guise technique is further discussed in Section 4.4.1.

2.4.3. Main findings of language attitude studies

A considerable number of studies have utilised the matched guise (or verbal guise) technique in the study of evaluative reactions of groups of people towards language varieties, dialects or accents. The variety of research is vast, for example measuring attitudes towards English and French speakers in Canada (Lambert *et al*, 1960), Hebrew and Arabic speakers in Israel (Lambert, Anisfield & Yeni-Komshian, 1965), and British attitudes towards UK and foreign accents (Giles,

1970) among others. Despite the variety and the differing contexts of these studies, there are commonalities in the findings of such research.

Firstly, responses in these studies were generally found to reflect two broad evaluative dimensions: *social status* (e.g. intelligence, perceived wealth, education etc.), and *group solidarity* (e.g. friendliness, trustworthiness, kindness etc.). The frequency with which these two dimensions have been found in language attitude studies has led to conclusions that they are central to our evaluative framework, regardless of location or culture (although the specific traits that are used to reflect these dimensions may differ depending on the culture of the informants - for further information see Osgood, 1964). Ryan (1983: 153) summarised the common findings that are attributed to these two evaluative dimensions: “the first [evaluative dimension] ‘social status’, or social prestige, is highly linked to the standardness of the speech style and the socioeconomic status of its speakers. The second, ‘group solidarity’, reflects the value of the speech style as a symbol of group identification and interpersonal attraction”. Thus, it has been found that speakers with a standardised speech style/accents are generally judged to be higher in prestige and status, and speakers with a non-standard speech style/accents are generally judged to be more socially attractive.

The findings of such studies suggest that individuals tend to be evaluated in terms of stereotypes (see Section 2.3.1) associated with groups, and linguistic cues (see *linguistic stereotypes*, Section 2.3.2) are enough to trigger these stereotypical judgements. Stereotypes associated with speaking a standard variety of speech tend to reflect the perceived higher social status of speakers, but often there is trade-off between social status and group solidarity. In contrast, stereotypical judgements of speakers with non-standard accents tend to reflect lower social status, but higher group solidarity. As noted by Edwards (1999), not only can we now generally predict with some confidence the language attitudes towards certain individuals within say Britain or North America based upon linguistic information of speakers, but it is also possible to predict attitudes towards non-native speakers of English based upon the level of influence of their first language upon their speech (Edwards, 1999: 103).

For instance, a study by McKenzie (2010) used the verbal guise technique to measure Japanese attitudes towards a ‘heavily accented’ Japanese speaker, and a ‘moderately accented’ Japanese

speaker (i.e. the speaker was deemed to be more “native-like” than the ‘heavily accented’ speaker). The findings suggested that, consistent with findings among informants for whom English is a first language, Japanese informants rated a ‘heavily accented’ speaker lower in terms of status than the Japanese speaker whose speech was less influenced by her Japanese phonology. Moreover, Japanese informants evaluated native English speakers included in the speech evaluation experiment higher on status-related traits than both of the Japanese speakers of English.

Other common findings in language attitude research suggest that the speech of dominant (majority) groups in society are generally evaluated higher in terms of social status or competence, whereas minority groups are deemed higher in group solidarity/social attractiveness (Lambert *et al*, 1960; Edwards, 1982; Ryan & Giles, 1982). In addition, standardised accents have received more favourable evaluations in terms of social status in children as young as five years old (Rosenthal, 1974; Day, 1980). This further suggests that stereotypical responses can be formed at a young age, and thus may have implications for the longevity and stability of language attitudes (see Section 2.1.5.).

2.5. Summary and rationale for the present study

This brief overview of attitudes, stereotypes and language attitudes provides the reader with a theoretical background for the present study. The chapter has revealed that attitudes are a complex concept. Attitudes consist of thoughts, feelings and behaviour, and although the link between attitudes and behaviour is unclear, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that attitudes can be a predictor of behaviour under certain circumstances. Reasonable predictors of when attitudes may influence behaviour include the extent to which attitudes are stable and enduring, and the level of accessibility of such an attitude. Moreover, attitudes are generally believed to be learned, with our social environment as the main influence for the formation of the attitudes we hold. These attitudes may be learned at a very young age, and the strength of these attitudes may depend upon the attitudes of individuals or social groups around us. Furthermore, the more similar the attitudes

among the social groups around us, the more stable and therefore less resistant to change our attitudes may be.

Social identity theory posits that individuals exhibit intergroup behaviour when awareness of group membership is high. Moreover, individuals have a tendency to favour their ingroup as a means to boost self-esteem. However, there are instances that show that ingroups are often aware of (and accepting of) outgroup superiority (for example on status-relevant traits – see Section 2.2.1), leading to other means of showing solidarity (such as on status-irrelevant traits). It is believed that our behaviour towards individuals and groups is a result of the cognitive process of self-categorisation. Intergroup behaviour is thought to occur when one's self-category is no longer defined in terms of individual characteristics (personal identity) but defined in terms of group membership based upon shared characteristics or beliefs (social identity). This 'depersonalisation' results in an emphasis of similarities between ingroup members, and between outgroup members i.e. 'us' versus 'them'. Furthermore, the group categories within which one places themselves is dependent upon the context. For example, a conversation involving three or more people may result in changing group categories depending on the content of the conversation, the way each individual is dressed, etc. For instance, if the content of the conversation concerned politics, groups may be formed generally in terms of conservative versus liberal, but then agreement/disagreement on different issues (e.g. stance on the UK's EU membership) may lead to group memberships being reclassified. Categorisation into distinct groups is based upon how much individuals differ (comparative fit), and to what extent individuals meet normative expectations (i.e.. stereotypes) of the group in which they are being categorised (normative fit).

Stereotypes are an important indicator of attitudes towards other groups. Stereotypes may be social in nature i.e. beliefs about certain groups of people, linguistic in nature i.e. beliefs about the way particular social groups speak, or sociolinguistic in nature, i.e. linguistic stereotypes may lead to responses which reflect social stereotypes of the perceived group membership of the speaker(s). Stereotypes also often have a causal relationship with prejudice. Although many individuals may attempt to suppress this prejudice, research has shown that both stereotypes and prejudice can be elicited implicitly i.e. beyond the level of consciousness of the individual, which suggests that

stereotyping and prejudice may be easily accessed, and therefore are more stable in nature. Negative stereotyping in particular may be very difficult to change since individuals may be less inclined to interact with social groups they have a negative perception of in order to challenge the stereotypical judgements they hold. This apparent stability of stereotypical attitudes towards other social groups suggests that it is possible to measure these attitudes. However in order to increase validity of research, it is felt beneficial to investigate both implicit and explicit attitudes, since the attitudes that individuals explicitly report may be affected by their attempts to conform to norms about what is socially appropriate, or to give answers they feel that the researcher wants to hear.

Researchers in language attitudes have frequently claimed that any evaluation of a speaker's speech style is not based on any inherent linguistic or aesthetic superiority, but on the social connotations, i.e. stereotypes, between the way an individual speaks and their group membership as perceived by the hearer. Moreover, language attitudes have found that, generally, individuals evaluate speakers based on two main factors: social status and group solidarity. Generally, speakers with a standardised speech style tend to be judged as being higher in social status and prestige but lower in group solidarity, whereas speakers with non-standardised speech styles tend to be judged higher in group solidarity and lower in social status. In addition, native speakers of English are generally accorded higher evaluations on status-related traits than non-native speakers of English.

There have been a considerable number of studies that have investigated language attitudes and stereotypical responses towards social groups (both implicitly and explicitly). However, according to Nesdale & Rooney (1996: 134), "there has been little attention from researchers [...] whether [...] geographically based language variations actually prompt in listeners the stereotype associated with each language, dialect or accent group". Furthermore, Eagly & Chaiken (2005: 763) have urged researchers to take a more active interest in the study of prejudice. Therefore it is felt beneficial to investigate the implicit stereotypical responses that are elicited through indirect measurements, and explicit social stereotypes that are elicited by direct measurements.

The aforementioned discussion of attitudes thus has implications for the present study. Firstly, it has been argued that attitudes are predominantly formed as a result of influence from the social environment within which an individual resides, and that in relatively attitudinally homogenous

social networks tend to have stronger, more stable attitudes. This indicates that folk attitudes of East Asian informants towards other East Asian speakers of English may be measurable. Secondly, since language attitudes are believed to be a reflection of attitudes (i.e. prejudice or stereotypes) about members of a perceived speech community, measuring and analysing language attitudes of Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants towards English speakers in the region may provide valuable insight into modern attitudes and stereotyping. This is believed to be important because stereotyping may be seen as “a potential obstruction for successful intergroup communication and therefore something which should be avoided if possible” (Ladegaard, 1998: 251), and that understanding attitudes may help to predict future behaviour towards certain social groups, which is becoming increasingly important as modern technology, global economic ties and transportation links raise the potential possibilities for intercultural interaction. Moreover, when group memberships (in this case nationality) are salient, intergroup behaviour may be activated. Therefore it is important to gain an understanding of whether linguistic cues may lead to categorisation in terms of nationality and the potential effects of such categorisations, in addition to the attitudes (i.e. stereotypical judgments) held towards each national group. The complexity of attitudes as highlighted by research cited in the present chapter also indicates that attitudes can be held both implicitly and explicitly, and that these attitudes may not always be consistent. As a result, many language attitude researchers have advocated the measurement of both implicit and explicit attitudes within their studies in order to gain a more in-depth understanding of the attitudes held towards speakers of languages of language varieties. Since there has been a dearth in research which directly compares attitudes among non-native speakers of English, the present study thus aims to investigate the way in which Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants evaluate each other and varieties of English from the region, and how these evaluations are informed by social stereotypes (if at all). The following chapter will present language attitudes studies that specifically focus on East Asian informants in order to further inform the present study.

Chapter 3: Review of Relevant Literature

Overview

Chapter 1 gave an overview of the World Englishes paradigm in the context of East Asia, focusing on China, Japan and South Korea. Chapter 2 focused on the definition of attitudes and what influence they may have in terms of language. Chapter 2 also briefly described the findings of previous language attitude studies, and the methodologies used to achieve this. Chapter 3 will give a more specific overview of previous language attitude studies that have been conducted in the context of China, Japan and Korea.

3.1 Language attitude studies towards English varieties in China, Japan and Korea

As discussed in Chapter 2, language attitude studies have generally found that language varieties (specifically, English speaker varieties) are judged on two distinct evaluative dimensions, social status (also known as ‘competence’) and group solidarity (also known as ‘social attractiveness’). Moreover, speakers with a standardised speech style/accent are generally judged to be higher in prestige and status, and speakers with a non-standard speech style/accent are generally judged to be more socially attractive. Among informants for whom English is not their first language, English speakers from Inner Circle countries (i.e. speakers who are deemed to speak English as a first language) tend to be evaluated more favourably on status-related traits, with native English speakers who speak a ‘Standardised’ variety of English rated higher than native English speakers who speak a ‘Non-standard/regional’ variety. In contrast, non-native English varieties are often deemed to be more socially attractive, but low in status. In order to inform the present study, this

section will present previous language attitude studies that have been completed in China, Japan and South Korea (Korea hereafter) and discuss similarities and differences with the general findings of language attitude studies. The section will begin with the Japanese context, since in Japan there have been a greater number of language attitude studies. It will follow with the Korean and the Chinese contexts. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a short summary of what has been learnt from the studies presented, and how this informs and justifies the need for the present study.

3.1.1 Relevant language attitude studies in the Japanese context

Language attitude studies gained credence in the 1960s with Lambert *et al.*'s (1960) study of social evaluations of English and French speech amongst Anglophone and Francophone communities in Canada (see Section 2.4.3). It was not until the late seventies, however, that studies of attitudes towards the English language and its speakers emerged in Japan. Although early studies of attitudes towards English in Japan focused heavily upon motivation and successful attainment (e.g. Chihara & Oller, 1978), studies began to investigate attitudes towards varieties of English, in particular the preference for varieties of English, in the early nineties. Such studies investigate Japanese attitudes towards a range of native English speaker varieties (both standard and non-standard), and more recently, attitudes towards non-native speaker varieties of English. A number of relevant language attitude studies were selected to help inform and interpret results of the present study. An overview of the selected studies is presented below.

Matsuura, Chiba & Yamamoto (1994) measured 92 Japanese university students' attitudes towards varieties of English using both direct and indirect methods of attitude measurement. The study employed a verbal guise experiment (see Section 2.4.2.2) to indirectly measure attitudes towards Outer Circle varieties of English: Malay English; Chinese Malay English; Bangladeshi English; Micronesian English; Hong Kong English; and Sri Lankan English. The study also included one Inner Circle English for evaluation - American English - though the exact origin, or whether the speech variety is considered standard or non-standard, was not specified. Informants were asked to rate the speech varieties based on a set of ten adjectives provided by the researchers; however, a justification for the selection of the adjectives was not included. Results suggested that the American accent was accorded more positive evaluations than the Outer Circle accents. The

researchers concluded that the preference for an American accent may be a result of familiarity with the American variety due to the predominant use of North American English in junior and senior high school instructional materials. In addition, informants that had “more respect for indigenous languages” were deemed to be more tolerant towards non-native accents.

In a follow-up study Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto (1995) investigated 169 Japanese university students’ attitudes towards three native speakers of English (two American speakers of English; one British speaker of English), three non-native outer circle speakers of English (Malaysia; Hong Kong; Sri Lanka), and three Japanese speakers of English. Similar to the previous study, it was concluded that firstly subjects with instrumental motivation may possess more positive attitudes towards non-native speakers and secondly the level of informants’ respect for indigenous languages positively affects attitudes towards non-native speakers. It was also concluded that the informants’ familiarity with accents had an influence on their acceptance of varieties of English. Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto (1995) also asked informants to identify the speakers of each variety. The researchers found that informants could seemingly distinguish between native and non-native speakers, but found it difficult to specifically identify the country of origin of speakers beyond the native/non-native distinction. Furthermore, informants seemed to be unfamiliar with Japanese accents of English; two of the Japanese speakers of English were only identified by 53% and 48% of the informants respectively. However, a third Japanese speaker of English had a high rate of identification (82% informants correctly identified that the speaker was of Japanese origin). The research instrument did not allow for further investigation into reasons why one speaker was more correctly identified as Japanese in comparison with the other two Japanese speakers. Nevertheless, informants were able to identify the Japanese speakers more accurately than the other non-native varieties (Hong Kong English; Malaysian English; Sri Lankan English). In summary, “for these Japanese subjects, identifying native accents was easiest, followed by Japanese accents, and then the other Asian varieties” (Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto, 1995: 80). However, it must be noted that informants were provided with a choice of six pre-selected labels (Japan; USA; UK; Sri Lanka; Hong Kong; Malaysia) to help identify the six speakers, and this may have affected their ability to identify each variety to some extent. Taking into consideration patterns of misidentification,

specifically concerning non-native speakers of English, Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto (1995) concluded that an exposure to a range of English varieties would help to increase the awareness of variation in the way English is spoken among Japanese informants.

Starks & Paltridge (1996) measured the attitudes of 106 Japanese students studying in a New Zealand university towards learning American English, British English, New Zealand English, and Japanese English. A questionnaire was employed to investigate by direct means which variety of English the students would prefer to learn and why. Results suggested that the preferred learner goal was American English (albeit in combination with British English), but there was limited support for learning British English in isolation. Furthermore, Japanese informants showed “no interest in learning ‘Japanese English’ as an individual learner goal (0 per cent) or in combination with other varieties (2 per cent)” (Starks & Paltridge, 1996: 220). The New Zealand variety was not desirable as an individual goal, though in combination with other varieties, i.e. American or British English, received the second highest support. However, the fact that students participating in the study were studying through the medium of English in New Zealand may have positively influenced their willingness to incorporate elements of New Zealand English into the classroom.

Starks & Paltridge (1996) used the results to investigate apparent time differences in the sample population, dividing the data to explore preferred learner goal by gender. They found that females had a stronger preference for British English, whereas males had a stronger preference for New Zealand English. Starks and Paltridge (1996: 221) explained the implications of this:

“it is possible that the difference in attitudes could be a reflection of attitude change or that different segments of the population have different language attitudes and, therefore, might for language planning and curriculum development purposes, need to be targeted separately”

This led Stark and Paltridge (1996) to conclude that males could perhaps be leading attitude change towards different varieties of English among Japanese, towards a growing acceptance of non-native

speaker varieties. Although differences in language attitudes may exist, there are practical limitations of targeting and teaching social groups separately as suggested by Starks & Paltridge (1996). Nevertheless, the study did serve to highlight the need for the measurement of differences in male/female attitudes, and an exploration of other potential social variables, and how these social variables may influence attitudes towards English varieties.

Matsuura, Chiba & Fujieda (1999) measured the attitudes of 106 Japanese university students towards American and Irish varieties of English, what the researchers labelled as “familiar and unfamiliar English” respectively. Six recordings were played to informants, three different speakers of American English and three different speakers of Irish English. There was no indication of what region of America or Ireland the speakers originated, nor whether the speakers spoke a standard or a non-standard variety. In order to test comprehensibility of the English varieties, informants were required to complete a gap-fill cloze dictation test. For the gap-fill cloze dictation test, a written text containing ten blanks which constituted both content and function words was provided to students, who were required to complete the blanks based upon what they heard the speaker say. Five open-ended multiple choice comprehension questions were also included, such as “*What does the speaker say about her Japanese language ability?*” The research instrument also measured comprehensibility judgements using a seven-point Likert scale, where informants were asked to state their level of agreement with statements such as “*The speech is smooth and fluent*” and “*There is no accent in the speaker’s pronunciation*” (ibid: 62). The authors’ concluded that, firstly, even if listeners believe that an utterance is easy to understand, it does not necessarily mean they can transcribe the words or understand the message correctly; Secondly, the amount of exposure to and familiarity with a variety can be factors that contribute to a higher perceived comprehensibility, but not necessarily to a better understanding of the message; and thirdly, listeners’ perception of speech was likely to be affected by salient vocal features such as clarity, intonation, fluency and pauses. It was also concluded that familiarity and exposure has a positive effect on attitudes towards different varieties of English. The study was concluded to have pedagogical implications, such as in the recruitment of native speakers for TEFL classrooms and the development of classroom materials, since providing a more varied range of English varieties may reflect contemporary use of global

English, and increased exposure may “lead to less inhibition, less bias and more tolerance toward different varieties of English” (ibid: 58).

Matsuda (2000, 2003) conducted an attitude study employing direct methods of measurement among 33 Japanese senior high school students in Tokyo, in an attempt to gauge attitudes towards different English speakers (Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles), and the use of English as an International Language. From the 33 informants, 10 were chosen to participate in in-depth interviews to further investigate their attitudes. Matsuda’s (2000) findings suggested that Japanese informants did not perceive Outer Circle Englishes negatively (in this case Filipino English, Singapore English, Indian English), however there was a general lack of awareness that these varieties of English were spoken. The lack of awareness of non-native varieties suggested that English is still perceived as a language used primarily in or between Inner Circle countries, which may perpetuate the belief that Inner Circle models (in particular American English) are considered norms. Furthermore, the informants demonstrated anxiety about Japanese English, describing it as an “*incorrect*” form, which should be avoided when speaking internationally. Nevertheless, some comments noted during in-depth interviews suggest that “[the students] recognize their [Japanese English] accent as an acceptable process of linguistic nativization”, (Matsuda, 2003: 492) however these views were “certainly a minority” (Matsuda, 2003: 492). Matsuda (2003) concluded that language specialists had a responsibility to promote a pluralistic view of English in order to fully prepare students for future use of English as an International language.

Cargile, Takai & Rodriguez (2006) investigated attitudes towards “mainstream” US English (MUSE) and African American Vernacular English (AAVE) among 113 Japanese undergraduates at two Japanese universities. The study employed a verbal guise experiment, where informants were asked to listen to, and rate eight speakers on a semantic differential scale: four AAVE speakers (two male; two female), and four MUSE speakers (two male; two female). The researchers found that attitudes towards AAVE in Japan may reflect attitudes previously revealed in research among American informants. In research involving both Japanese and US informants, male AAVE speakers were rated less favourably on status-related traits than male speakers of

MUSE, and rated comparably on social attractiveness-related traits to male MUSE (Cargile, Takai & Rodriguez, 2006: 452). It is worth noting that non-standard varieties of English are generally rated more positively on social attractiveness traits by both native and non-native listeners (see Section 2.4.3). Therefore, comparable ratings for social attractiveness of AAVE and MUSE speakers may represent a downgrading of the AAVE non-standard variety. It was concluded that negative attitudes towards AAVE may have been exported from the US to Japan, though questions were raised about whether negative evaluations were specific to AAVE or whether Japanese listeners object equally to perceived non-standard varieties. Cargile, Takai & Rodriguez (2006) concluded that the negative rating accorded to AAVE on attractiveness-related traits is a racially-motivated judgment: “what is treated as standard English within Japan and elsewhere [...] is confounded entirely with ideas of race” (ibid: 453). This observation is important to the present study, since possible internalisation of US racial hierarchies (or even perhaps inherent racial hierarchies within Japanese society) may affect the attitudes towards different varieties depending on perceived ethnicity of the speaker. It is worth noting that previous studies (Befu, 2001; Fujimoto, 2002; Haarmann, 1984; Hildebrandt & Giles, 1983) have also found that high prestige is often accorded to ‘white Others’, whereas “non-white Others (e.g. blacks and Koreans) are often denigrated” (Cargile, Takai & Rodriguez, 2006: 446). The study also measured attitudes towards gender differences in the speakers. It was concluded that “the difference between evaluations of male and female AAVE speakers within Japan is very real” (Cargile, Takai & Rodriguez, 2006: 452), since male speakers were generally downgraded in comparison with female speakers. Again, this highlights the need to investigate differences in evaluation of male and female speakers, in addition to male and female listeners.

A verbal guise experiment (see Section 2.4.2.2) was employed by McKenzie (2008a, 2008b, 2010) to indirectly measure the implicit attitudes towards varieties of British English, American English and Japanese English amongst 558 Japanese students at universities across Japan. McKenzie (2008a) criticised the assumed homogeneity of speech communities surveyed in previous studies, which “failed to take into account the potentially differentiating factors within a population” (McKenzie, 2008a: 67), and addressed this by including different varieties of two Inner Circle

Englishes, US English and British English. More specifically, the US varieties included Mid-West US English (MWUSE) - also known as General American, and considered to represent mainstream (i.e. standard) US English - and Southern US English (SUSE), a non-standard variety. The UK varieties included Glasgow Standard English (GSE) and Glasgow Vernacular English (GV). Also included were two Japanese speakers of English, one of which was considered to be “moderately-accented” Japanese English (MJE), and one of which was considered to be “heavily-accented” Japanese English (HJE). The different accents of Japanese English were included to investigate the potential effect of the degree of accentedness (e.g. from mild to broad) upon attitudes of Japanese informants. Informants were asked to listen to each of the speech varieties and rate them along a seven-point semantic differential scale based upon a number of characteristic traits, which were elicited by Japanese respondents in a pilot test to ensure that meanings attached to the adjectives used were specific to Japanese culture. In addition, McKenzie (2008a) included a perceptual dialectology experiment (see Section 2.4.2.1) in order to investigate the potential relationship between Japanese informants’ attitudes towards variation in their first language and attitudes to variation in the English language. The findings demonstrated that, in terms of status/competence-related traits, Inner Circle varieties of English were preferred over the Japanese speaker of English. In particular, a clear hierarchy existed, where the US speakers were rated higher than the UK speakers, who were in turn rated higher than the Japanese speakers. In terms of social attractiveness-related traits, the heavily-accented Japanese speaker was evaluated significantly higher than the other five speakers, with the two standard Inner Circle varieties (MWUSE; GSE) rated significantly lower than the HJE speaker, the GV speaker and the SUSE speaker (but not significantly different from each other). It was concluded that Japanese learners may have considered non-standard varieties (including HJE) more salient markers of ingroup identity (see Section 2.4.1), whereas standard varieties (including MJE) were perhaps considered outgroup (see Section 2.4.1). There was also evidence to suggest that “enhanced awareness of social and regional variation within the Japanese language amongst Japanese learners can have a positive effect upon their evaluations of the correctness and status of forms of English spoken by Japanese” (McKenzie, 2008a: 77).

Analysis of the independent variables measured in the study revealed that females, informants who had greater contact with native speakers and those with a higher-perceived English ability all rated the MWUSE, SUSE, GSE more positively in terms of status/competence-related traits than the Glasgow Vernacular speaker and both the Japanese speakers (McKenzie, 2008a). Thus gender, self-perceived proficiency and exposure to native varieties of English may be considered social determinants of Japanese attitudes towards forms of English speech for this particular sample of informants. McKenzie (2008a) concluded that there are pedagogical implications since, firstly, particular social groups (e.g. males/females) may have to be targeted specifically; and secondly, the result may indicate that a change in attitude among Japanese informants towards native and non-native English speech may have been occurring in Japan, and raising awareness of different varieties in the classroom and/or teaching materials may reduce the ambivalence towards local varieties such as Japanese-accented English.

Informants in McKenzie's study (2008a) were also required to identify the country of origin of each speaker. Results indicated that Japanese informants were clearly able to distinguish between native and non-native speakers of English, suggesting that native/non-native distinction could be a salient factor when identifying speakers, which is believed to involve classifying speakers into "either native or non-native before attempting to further categorise them; perhaps based upon more specific ethnic associations" (McKenzie, 2008b: 150). In addition, identification rates were high for both varieties of US English, perhaps a reflection of the prevalence of American culture and media in Japanese society. Identifying the UK varieties of English, however, proved more problematic for the informant. Although the Glasgow standard variety was generally recognised as an Inner Circle variety, informants found it more difficult to identify the Glasgow vernacular speaker as a native speaker, with a significant proportion of the informants perceiving the speaker to be from an 'other Europe' country. This suggests that a feature of speech may have been leading them to misidentify the Glasgow vernacular speech variety (though features of speech were not specifically focused upon in the study). The comparatively low identification rates for the UK varieties may have also reflected unfamiliarity with the varieties, since informants may not have been as exposed to Scottish accents of English as they were to British accents with Received

Pronunciation (RP), which were not included in McKenzie's (2008a) study. The heavily-accented Japanese speaker was the most accurately identified variety by some distance, perhaps due to 'ease of comprehensibility' and 'familiarity'. However, the Japanese informants had more difficulty identifying the moderately-accented Japanese speaker; the rate of recognition of the MJE speaker as a non-native variety was high, but there was difficulty in pin-pointing the origin of the speaker (with a high misidentification as 'Other Asian' or 'European' i.e. another Expanding Circle country). It was concluded that the higher the degree of familiarity with/ability to identify native speaker varieties, the higher the evaluation of the speaker with regards to competence. In contrast, attitudes towards the Japanese-accented English tended to be rated more positively in terms of solidarity based upon a higher degree of accentedness.

Evans & Imai (2011) directly measured attitudes to varieties of English amongst 101 Japanese university students studying in Japan using two open-ended questions, the first of which was (i) *Name countries around the world where you know English is spoken as a native language?* Unsurprisingly, when asked to name countries where English is spoken as a native language, the USA, the UK, Canada and Australia respectively seem most familiar with informants. The second question included was: (ii) *What kind of impression do you get when you hear these varieties?* Evans & Imai (2011) coded the responses according to keywords, then categorised them according to Zahn & Hopper's (1985) three evaluation categories: 'superiority' (related to 'status' – see Section 2.4.3), 'attractiveness' (related to 'solidarity' – see Section 2.4.3) and dynamism, the latter of which included characteristics such as '*confidence*', '*aggressiveness*' and '*enthusiasm*'. The analyses revealed that US English was accorded more descriptions that related to 'superiority' than other Inner Circle varieties, a finding which is historically common for British English (Evans, 2005; Ladegaard & Sachdev, 2006). However, Evans & Imai's (2011) finding is in keeping with recent research by McKenzie (2008a), where US varieties were rated more highly than UK varieties on competence-related traits. However, it is worth noting that McKenzie's (2008a) speech varieties did not include an RP accent, rather it focused upon Scottish varieties of English. In Evans & Imai's (2011) study, Japanese informants deemed the UK variety to be more socially attractive, whereas the Canadian variety was judged in comparison to its difference/similarity to the US

variety. The Australian variety elicited judgements based on its perceived broad accent, suggesting that it is seen as a “less ‘standard’ with regard to the other varieties mentioned” (ibid: 322).

Rivers (2011), investigated attitudes of 48 Japanese university students towards ten accented English speech samples using a verbal guise experiment. Two of the speech samples presented were native English speaker varieties (American English; British English – termed “preferred intercultural others”) one speech variety was a Japanese speaker of English (“the intracultural familiar”) while the remaining seven speech samples were non-native varieties from various Asian countries: China; India; Indonesia; South Korea; Thailand; Taiwan; and Vietnam – termed “the intercultural others” (Rivers, 2011: 375). It is important to note that in the case of the native English speaker varieties, region of origin was not specified. Similarly, for the non-native speakers of English, no description was given of the degree of accentness of the speakers. Rivers (2011) found that the majority of informants were unable to correctly identify the Japanese speaker of English, with nearly 70% of the informants misidentifying the Japanese speaker of English as a native speaker (50% American English, 20% British English speaker). These findings seem surprising, and do raise questions as to the degree of accentedness of the speakers selected for the study – there was no indication as to how representative any of the speakers were of speakers of English of the speech community they originated from, or comments on phonological features of the speech samples. Furthermore, evaluations of two speech varieties in particular showed considerably higher recognition rates than the rest: the Vietnamese speaker of English and the Korean speaker of English. Though speculative, Rivers (2011) concluded that possible reasons for the higher recognition rate for the Korean speaker of English were that “Koreans represent the largest non-Japanese resident community within Japan and Korean popular culture has been enjoying a boom period of late” (p. 383). However, since exposure to Vietnamese speakers of English is relatively low in comparison to Korean speakers of English in Japan, the higher identification rate of the Vietnamese speaker of English seemed somewhat of an anomaly, leading to the conclusion that perhaps it was identified as “the default odd one out” (Rivers, 2011: 383) i.e. by process of elimination. Patterns of misidentification were common throughout the identification tasks, particularly concerning non-native varieties of English. Inconsistencies in the recognition

rates of the speakers therefore led Rivers (2011) to the conclusion that perceptions based on the perceived origin of the speakers are “influenced by non-linguistic factors connected to issues of language use and language status within Japan” (Rivers, 2011: 384). However, no justification was given for this conclusion, and further research is needed to ascertain why misidentification may occur, and what this misidentification can reveal about English use and language attitudes in Asia. Moreover, Rivers’ (2011) identification task required that listeners chose from a pre-determined list, thus limiting the types of misidentification possible, as suggested by the relatively high identification of the Vietnamese speaker of English.

Rivers (2011) re-categorised the data for analysis based upon actual origin and informants’ perceived origin of the speakers, then into categories of native, non-native and Japanese. Rivers (2011) found that, firstly, with respect to the actual origin i.e. regardless of where the speaker was perceived to be from, the Japanese speaker of English was rated most favourable across all nine of the evaluative criteria. Secondly, taking into account the perceived origin of the speakers, the native English speakers were rated most favourable, with the Japanese speaker of English rated second overall (behind the US English speaker). In both cases the ‘other’ non-native speakers were consistently rated lower than both the native speakers of English and the Japanese speaker of English. Thus, the results suggested a hierarchy existed where native speakers were accorded higher ratings, followed by Japanese speakers, and then by other non-native speakers. The data in Rivers’ (2011) study, however, was not subjected to a principal components analysis (PCA), which helps to identify the evaluative dimensions on which speakers are judged (see Section 5.2.1 for a detailed description of a PCA). Nevertheless, Rivers concluded that “Japan’s native-English speaker dependency is built upon a combination of both linguistic and racial indicators [and] this lingua-racial profiling also applies to other ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic groups” (Rivers, 2011: 388). Further research is needed to gain a more in-depth understanding of the potential lingua-racial profiling which Rivers (2011) describes.

Tokumoto & Shibata (2011) used a questionnaire to directly measure attitudes towards speakers’ own varieties of English among 128 Japanese, South Korean and Malaysian university students.

Informants were required to respond to 12 statements on a 6-point Likert scale (see Section 2.4.2.1). Informants were also asked to suggest a variety of English accent which they considered to be a criterion when judging whether a speaker is native or not and whether informants valued native-like pronunciation or message conveyance (Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011: 395). Results suggested that, while Malaysian informants were generally positive towards their own variety of English and had less of an adherence to native speaker (NS) English, both Korean and Japanese informants displayed considerable anxiety about their own varieties of English. The Japanese group were found to be particularly negative towards their own variety of English, highlighting concerns over the perceived intelligibility of Japanese English to other English users (both native and non-native speakers). The Japanese informants demonstrated a notable lack of confidence in Japanese English pronunciation and believed that Japanese English pronunciation was not acceptable for personal cross-cultural communication. Tokumoto & Shibata (2011) concluded that the reasons underpinning the difference in perceptions of Malaysian and Japanese informants towards their own variety of English are complex. One explanation suggested by Tokumoto & Shibata (2011) for the different perceptions was that citizens of Malaysia, as a country where the English language is deeply-rooted and is widely used in functional contexts, have more experience in using English for communication. The functional use of English in Malaysia may in turn affect the level of confidence that Malaysian informants have in the Malaysian variety of English, and therefore explain why Malaysian speakers have less of an adherence to NS English varieties. In other words, by engaging in functional communication situations they are able to see the value of the English language, and the success in doing so may determine the valuation of their own Malaysian variety. In contrast, in Japan and South Korea, English is treated by policy-makers and educators as a foreign language (see Chapter 1). Although the contexts and objectives of learning English do differ slightly in Japan and South Korea (see Section 1.4), there are similarities in terms of the level of exposure to varieties of English, which is primarily experienced through teaching materials used in the classroom (which are more often than not dominated by native speaker models), and the popularity of US media, such as Hollywood movies and TV shows. However, the majority of English language learners have limited opportunity to speak or use English outside of the classroom, and without the opportunity for engagement in situations that may be considered as

“functional enough to achieve communication purposes” (Tokumoto & Shibata: 403), it may be difficult to enhance awareness of the functional value of Japanese English and Korean English. Limited exposure to functional communication situations may then lead to devaluation of Japanese and Korean varieties of English by its own speakers. Tokumoto & Shibata (2011: 403) concluded that:

“[Japanese and Korean learners’] judgement [of varieties of English] could be based not on their actual experience of successful or unsuccessful communication in English but the belief built upon language ideology in the society, that is, since a native accent is the ideal model to follow, their accented English needs to be corrected because it deviated from the native norm”.

In recent years there have been attempts to introduce situations where functional communication is necessary in South Korea, through projects such as Gyeonggi English Village (see Section 1.4.3), which is designed as a functioning English village where students are required to carry out certain functions in English, such as sending mail. However, the effects and worth of such projects for English learners are yet to be investigated. From the study, Tokumoto & Shibata (2011) concluded that in order to raise the awareness of the value of different varieties of English among English learners, there needs to be an emphasis on both teacher training and English language training that makes English learners aware of the value of different varieties of English, including their own.

Takahashi (2011) investigated the attitudes of 80 Japanese university students towards speakers of English from the USA, Japan and China using a verbal guise experiment, in addition to a questionnaire that asked for beliefs about learning English and about world Englishes. The study found that, on status-related traits, the USA speaker of English was evaluated significantly higher than the Chinese and the Japanese speakers, with no significant difference between the two non-native speaker varieties. In contrast, on solidarity-related traits, there was a significant difference between each of the three speakers, with the Chinese speaker evaluated highest, followed by the Japanese speaker, and finally the USA speaker. It was concluded that the Japanese informants held

complex attitudes towards Japanese English, since the Japanese informants “psychologically identify their English with non-native Englishes, [but] [...], they may not want to consider themselves too strongly as speakers of Japanese English at the same time” (Takahashi, 2011: 32). The study also indicated that the higher evaluation of the USA speaker of English was positively affected by the integrative motivation to learn English among the informants. More importantly for the present study, gender was not found to be a statistically significant determinant in the evaluation of the speakers on either the status or solidarity dimensions. In contrast, exposure to Japanese English i.e. through English language courses had a significant effect on the evaluations, where more exposure resulted in higher evaluations on the solidarity dimension but lower evaluations on the status dimension. However, the informant sample was relatively small and therefore results must be interpreted tentatively, as acknowledged in the author’s limitations of the study. However, one limitation that was overlooked by Takahashi (2011) was the omission of a variety identification task; therefore there was no indication what varieties the informants thought they were evaluating. For instance, the reader cannot be certain that the Japanese informants did not evaluate the Chinese speaker higher on solidarity traits because they perhaps perceived the speaker to be Japanese. Although unlikely since previous studies have shown a relatively high identification rate for Japanese speakers among Japanese informants (McKenzie, 2010), it is not entirely implausible since Japanese informants in Rivers (2011) study had significant difficulty identifying a Japanese speaker of English.

A study by Sasayama (2013) investigated the attitudes of 44 Japanese undergraduate students towards four speakers of English from the USA, and four speakers of English from Japan. The study employed a verbal guise experiment, where an audio recording of each speaker was presented to the informants, who were required to rate the speakers on a semantic differential scale and which included an equal number of traits traditionally associated with the solidarity and status dimensions. In addition, informants were asked directly to state their level of agreement with statements that represented attitudes towards personal preference and international acceptability of US and Japanese varieties of English. The findings of the study suggested that the evaluations of the US and Japanese speakers of English did not differ significantly overall. However, when

solidarity and status dimensions were considered separately, the US English speakers were evaluated significantly higher than the Japanese speakers of English on status-related traits, and the Japanese speakers of English were evaluated higher than the US speakers of English on solidarity-related traits, consistent with the findings of McKenzie (2008a; 2010). Furthermore, although there was a general desire to sound like a US speaker of English, the informants expressed a wish for *Nihon tokuyu no eigo* (English that is unique to Japanese) to be accepted internationally. It was concluded that attitudes towards Japanese English among Japanese informants may have grown more positive since the studies of Chiba, Matsuura and Yamamoto (1995). In addition, the study highlighted the importance of investigating social aspects behind judgements towards speakers (e.g. solidarity and status) when measuring language attitudes.

3.1.2 Relevant language attitude studies in the Korean context

In comparison to Japan, there are fewer studies that have investigated attitudes towards varieties of English in the Republic of Korea. Those that have been conducted have been dominated by the study of language attitudes towards native varieties of English, in particular of American English (AmE), British English (BrE), and Australian English (AusE) (Gibb, 1997; Gibb, 1999; Jung, 2005). Considering historical familiarity with the USA in Korea (see Section 1.4.3), and the economic and political power associated with the USA, it is not surprising that many of these studies have shown that the preference for learning a variety of English is overwhelmingly that of American English. However, it was only recently that attitude towards speech varieties have emerged within Korea. A number of studies and their findings are presented below in order to further inform the present study.

In one study language attitude study, Shim (2002) measured the evaluations of 57 Korean university students towards English speech samples of five female teachers from various backgrounds (USA, Australia, Canada, Pakistan and Korea). Informants were asked to answer questions regarding: the identity of the speaker (nationality, level of education, profession); whether they would like that speaker as an English teacher (and if not to provide an explanation); the level of intelligibility; and perceived importance for Koreans to be able to understand each speaker. The results of the survey demonstrated the overwhelming popularity of American English

(or, more accurately, North American English, since students could not successfully differentiate between American and Canadian varieties), both in intelligibility and as a suitable model for learning English. There was a desire to learn Australian English in only half of the respondents (although the options were limited to Yes/No, so degree of desirability to learn the varieties was not recorded), and none of the respondents had any desire to learn a Korean or Pakistani variety of English. Follow-up interviews revealed that the lack of desire to learn Australian, Pakistani, and Korean varieties of English were due to informants' perceptions that that these varieties possess "*bad*" and/or "*funny*" accents. Interestingly however, the Korean variety had a much higher level of perceived intelligibility than both the Australian and Pakistani varieties, and there was an overall attitude that there was a practical need to understand a Korean variety. Moreover, there was a perception that "[informants] don't have to understand Indian English, Singaporean English, or Filipino English." (Shim 1995, cited in Shim, 2002: 149). The respondents also expressed their inability to distinguish between non-native varieties.

In a follow-up study, Shim (2002) measured attitudes towards varieties of English among 24 university students studying a Masters in TESOL in a Seoul University, where, as a consequence of studying an English language theoretical teaching course, informants were expected by the researcher to have a positive reaction to non-native speaker teachers. On the contrary, these NNS students (20 of which were full-time English language teachers), overwhelmingly chose American English as a suitable classroom model, and were unanimous in their disagreement with the need to understand non-native varieties, and the willingness to participate in a learning program that aimed to introduce non-native varieties of English. However, a number of the respondents gave explanations for their negative answers, highlighting problems of practical application in the classroom. Shim concluded that ideally informants would prefer non-native varieties to be incorporated into teaching methodology, but at the time of the study it was not seen by informants as something that was practically achievable. The same study was repeated with students from the following year's cohort, yielding vastly different results. Of the 27 students asked what model should be used as a teaching model 23 responded with "Internationally acceptable English", compared with the unanimous answer of "American English" from the previous year's study. All

students also answered 'yes' to the question "Is there a need to understand the non-native varieties of English?", and 'yes' to the question regarding willingness to participate in a programme that introduced NNS varieties of English. However, the researcher did acknowledge that she was now "notorious for 'selling' world Englishes" (ibid, 151) as a concept, and that these students were part of her graduate classes, and this may have unduly affected the results. Nevertheless, there is the suggestion that students are becoming more aware of the importance of understanding non-native varieties. In addition, changes in attitude from Seoul National University policy-makers were evident, with the decision to adopt and design resource material from an educational broadcast programme called "Crossroads Café", which "featured several non-native speakers of English as main characters (Romanian, Mexican, Chinese, and Egyptian)" (ibid: 151).

Gibb (1997) administered a direct attitude questionnaire to 58 Korean students in a university in Seoul. Informants were required to answer thirty four closed questions using a 5-point Likert agreement scale, regarding attitudes towards education, teachers and materials, job and career prospects and varieties of English. Gibb (1997) concluded that among Korean university students, job and career prospects affected the attitude towards learning an English variety, with American English being "the most useful variety for their future career plans" (ibid: 42). An interesting finding, however, was that 15 from 58 (just over 25%) respondents claimed that 'all' varieties were the most useful for their future career, which may demonstrate an awareness of other varieties of English. The attitudes towards learning a particular English variety for their future career was in contrast to the attitude towards learning a variety in order to pass exams, with the majority of respondents neither agreeing nor disagreeing that they wanted to learn AmE because they wanted to "improve [their] TOEFL score" (ibid: 40). Despite the general preference for learning AmE over other varieties, Gibb (ibid) was concerned that an AmE-focused teaching approach would lead to ethnocentricity, and the negative aspects may be detrimental to Korean identity and a discrimination against non-American native speaker teachers and non-native speaker teachers (ibid), and the fact that many of the respondents believed that all varieties were useful may somewhat support this.

In a follow up study, Gibb (1999) included 68 Korean full-time employees, along with 50 Korean university students to investigate attitudes towards English among informants in full-time education in comparison to those in full-time employment. In this survey he reduced the number of survey items to 10 and included open-ended questions (8 closed; 2 open-ended). Gibb (1999) analysed and compared data in order to investigate whether attitudes of those in full-time education were different from those in full-time employment. Gibb (1999: 35) found that in both groups “AmE [was] clearly more popular, [the results] also emphasize the homogeneity of the groups preferences” i.e. both professionals and university students preferred to learn AmE. Gibb’s (1999) study also investigated motivation for studying a particular variety (focusing on AmE and BrE). Not surprisingly, in general there was a stronger preference for AmE over BrE. Gibb (ibid) concluded that the preference towards AmE may be due to “socio-economic themes” and familiarity with the variety, with respondents describing AmE as “*useful*”, “*influential*”, “*opportunities*”, “*standard*”, and “*powerful*” (ibid: 38). BrE was deemed to have higher prestige and status, perhaps due to the perception that British English was the “*original*” form of English. Gibb’s concluded that desire to learn a particular variety may be dependent upon the perceived “*economic prestige*” associated with a variety (ibid: 39). Gibb (1999: 39) also concluded that “there needs to be a balance between a staple diet of AmE and a regular intake of other varieties.”

Jung (2005) employed a verbal guise technique (see Section 2.4.2.2) to investigate attitudes towards American and British varieties of English among both pre-university and existing university students at a Korean University, presenting four different speech samples of native speakers of English (two AmE, two BrE). Each speaker read a 90-word passage of narrative text, but depending on the variety of the speakers, was then offered the opportunity to change any lexical items to suit their variety. i.e. elevator/lift; fall/autumn. This accounted for lexical differences in varieties rather than simply pronunciation/accidental differences. Participants were then asked to rate the speech samples on a bi-polar semantic differential scale (see Section 2.4.2.2) for nine pairs of adjectives. The results of the attitude survey indicated that both the pre-university and existing university students evaluated American English more positively than British English on all traits. The inclusion of a familiarity scale revealed that there was a much stronger familiarity

with AmE than with BrE among both the pre-university and existing university students. Jung (2005) concluded that “familiarity has a strong impact on preference...[t]his in turn implies that lack of familiarity led to generally unfavourable stereotypes in relation to British English” (Jung, 2005: 249). It is worth noting that the “American English” and “British English” varieties that were used as speech samples were not identified in terms of location, dialect or accent used e.g. RP, Mainstream US English, Southern US English. Jung’s study, however, did suggest that a hierarchy exists regarding attitudes towards native varieties of English, where American English is more positively rated than British English. Jung (2005) reasoned that socio-political influence from the United States was a strong contributing factor; historical, social, political, and to some extent economic factors (with particular reference to published teaching materials) gave AmE prestige over its BrE counterpart. Despite the conclusions of the study, Jung highlighted the dangers of an over-reliance of one variety in the classroom. In particular, on a practical level Jung (2005) states that heavy reliance on AmE may result in communication breakdown.

Kim’s (2007) study of 45 professional Korean workers in Daegu employed a mixed methodology, using a verbal guise experiment, and a questionnaire to elicit attitudes towards varieties of English by indirect and direct means respectively. The verbal guise study measured Korean workers’ attitudes towards American English (AmE) and British English (BrE) from the Inner Circle, Indian English (InE) and Hong Kong English (HKE) from the Outer Circle, and Korean English (KoE), Taiwanese English (TaE) and Filipino English (FilE) from the Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle speech varieties were “evaluated to be the typical accent that its native speakers may be aware of” (Kim: 13) by two native speakers of each variety of English. In addition, the Outer and Expanding Circle varieties were “regarded as those of fluent speakers of English with non-native pronunciations” (ibid:13). The results of the verbal guise experiment indicated that the Korean informants did not discriminate between five accents (AmE, BrE, HoE, KoE, and TaE), but InE was evaluated significantly less favourably. Furthermore, there was no significant difference in the evaluations of native (AmE and BrE) and non-native speakers of English (HoE, InE, KoE, and TaE). Kim (2006) concluded that the Korean informants that participated in the survey “regarded English as an International language to communicate not only with native speakers but also with

non-native speakers” (Kim, 2006: 47). Kim (2006) also suggested that Korean informants may consider AmE to be a point of reference, rather than a norm used as a goal for production. Furthermore, in the direct attitudinal questionnaire, there was not only a substantial agreement with the statement that English was needed to communicate with non-native speakers, but also an indifference among informants regarding the perceived importance of producing a native-like pronunciation.

Kim’s (2007) research instrument also included an identification task, which required informants to identify the country of origin of the speaker after the evaluation of each speech recording. Results from the identification task suggested that while the Korean informants were generally able to distinguish between native and non-native varieties, successfully identifying the nationality of speakers beyond the native/non-native distinction was more challenging. Surprisingly, the correct identification of non-native English speaker nationalities was considerably higher than the native speakers of English. In particular, the Korean informants were consistently able to successfully identify InE, KoE, TaE and HoE speakers. The informants, however, were provided with a pre-determined list which contained the six varieties used in the speech evaluation experiment, which may have influenced the patterns of identification or misidentification. Nevertheless, Kim (2007) concluded that Korean adults used in the study were not generally well aware of varieties of English and that English Language Teaching (ELT) in Korea “should focus on raising learners’ awareness of varieties of English in order that they can command [English as an International language] without difficulty (ibid: 47).

Shin (2011) measured the attitudes of 117 Korean university students and 19 English teachers towards a variety of English accents. A questionnaire was employed, requiring informants to directly answer a number of questions regarding their attitudes towards Inner Circle English accents (USA; UK; Canada; Australia; New Zealand; Ireland), Expanding Circle accents (Japan; Vietnam; China; Germany; Korea), and accents that may be considered as Outer Circle accents i.e. where English is spoken as a second language (India; Philippines; South Africa; Singapore). Shin (2011) found that, unsurprisingly, native English speaker accents were listed as the most desirable,

with USA the most preferred. Attitudes towards Asian varieties were generally negative, with 82% from 117 student respondents indicating that “speaking with an Asian English accent is undesirable” (Shin, 2011: 14), and that 90% would “like to speak like a native” (ibid). Reasons for these negative attitudes could be suggested by further results, which indicated that mutual intelligibility is important to Korean speakers, most highly with native English speakers (84%). However, a high importance was also placed upon non-native speakers’ ability to understand their own non-native English accents (74%). Moreover, the desire for certain English speaking accents seemed to be generally motivated by the pursuit of “easy communication” (ibid: 14). Perhaps an important observation for the present study was the particularly strong undesirability for a Japanese accent, 32% of the sample indicated that they believed Japanese English to be the most undesirable accent. The second and third most undesirable English accents respectively were of Vietnam and China, with 15% of informants selecting these two varieties. Therefore, the Japanese accent was considered the most undesirable accent among the Korean informants by some distance. Interestingly, a Korean English accent was the least undesirable Asian accent (2%), above Philippines (8%) and India (12%). Shin (2011: 14) concluded that “students would prefer to have a Korean accent rather than any other Asian accent” (Shin, 2011: 14).

Other notable results from Shin’s (2011) study were that students overwhelmingly preferred a teacher with an American English accent (50%) over a teacher from the UK and Canada with 15% and 13% respectively. However, despite the popularity of Korean English in comparison to other Asian varieties, only 3% of student respondents desired to be taught English by teachers with a Korean English accent. Shin (2011) also gave a smaller-scale survey of three open-ended questions to 19 English teachers in the same university (13 NNS teachers; 6 NS teachers). The results suggest that, despite the stronger preference for native varieties among students, positive attitudes towards non-native accents among teachers may be growing: “A majority (63%) of the educators believed that there has been a change in Korean attitudes towards accents over the past five to ten years that could be mainly attributed to Koreans increasingly being exposed to, and therefore more accepting of, non-AmE accents” (ibid: 15). In addition, 84% of the teacher respondents believed that “Korean

students should study a variety of accents in order to achieve communicative competence” (ibid: 16).

A recent study by Yook & Lindemann (2013) investigated the attitudes of 60 Korean university students towards five speakers of English, and the effects of prior knowledge of the speaker varieties upon the informants’ evaluations. The study employed a verbal guise experiment, presenting two English speakers from the USA, European-American (AmE) and African American (AAVE), in addition to English speakers from Australia (AuE), the UK (BrE) and Korea (KE). Informants were required to rate the speakers on a semantic differential scale including 11 traits which had been elicited in a pilot study with Korean informants. To investigate the effect of identification upon evaluations the sample was divided into two groups; the first group was informed about the nationalities/ethnicities of the speaker varieties prior to evaluating the speakers, while the second group was uninformed. The results suggested that on status/competence-related traits the group that were uninformed about the speaker varieties evaluated the BrE speaker significantly higher than the AuE, AAVE and AmE speakers respectively, while the KE speaker was rated significantly lower than all of the speakers. The informed group also evaluated the KE speaker significantly lower than the other four speakers, with no significant differences between the AmE, BrE, AuE and AAVE speakers. On social attractiveness-related traits, the uninformed group evaluated the BrE and AuE speakers significantly higher than the AmE, KE and AAVE speakers respectively, but there was no significant difference between the BrE and AuE speakers, or the AmE, KE and AAVE speakers. For the informed group, there was no significant difference between the AmE, KE, BrE and AuE speakers, but all four were evaluated significantly higher than the AAVE speaker. Thus, providing labels of the nationalities/ethnicities of the speakers before completing the evaluation task resulted in higher evaluations of the AmE speaker and lower evaluations of the BrE speaker on status/competence-related traits, in addition to higher evaluations for the KE speaker and lower evaluations of the AAVE on social attractiveness-related traits. Furthermore, an identification task revealed that the uninformed group demonstrated a reasonable accuracy in identifying the BrE, AmE and KE speakers, and an even greater consistency in labelling the BrE and AmE as Inner Circle varieties, and the KE as an Expanding Circle variety. It

was concluded that the AmE was the preferred variety (even though the BrE was rated higher by the uninformed group), and that identification of the speakers was based upon a native-non-native categorisation, where the stigmatised variety (AAVE) was believed to be categorised either as a highly proficient non-native speaker (resulting in a higher evaluation) or as a ‘bad’ native speaker (resulting in a lower evaluation). Yook & Lindemann (2013: 293) thus highlighted the importance of including a variety identification task in future language attitude research:

“Clearly, more research is needed on how explicit identification of varieties relates to evaluation of them, and how these factors may effect spontaneous reactions to speakers of different varieties that English users make every day. Such research would ideally include a larger and less homogenous participant sample, as well as both male and female speakers of each variety.”

For the present study is also important to highlight that the KE speaker was rated lowest by Korean informants on status/competence-related traits regardless of whether the speaker variety was identified to the informants prior to the evaluation task or not. However, on social attractiveness-related traits, the KE speaker was rated only lower than the AmE speaker by the informed group.

3.1.3 Relevant language attitude studies in the Chinese context

Zhang & Hu (2008) conducted a study measuring attitudes towards three native-speaker varieties of English amongst 30 post-graduate Chinese students studying in the USA. A verbal guise experiment (see Section 2.3.2.2) was employed, and informants were asked to rate recordings of American English (AmE), British English (BrE) and Australian English (AusE) speakers according to a number of language-related, personal-related and potential teaching quality related qualities. It is important to note that the speakers were broadly defined as speakers of “American English”, “British English” and “Australian English”, with no specific descriptions of regional provenance, dialect or accent. The results suggested that the Chinese informants judged the AmE speaker as a native speaker of English (NS) without an accent; the BrE speaker was viewed as NS but was somewhat less accentless, whereas AusE was considered accentless but somewhat less NS. Therefore, informants appeared to view the AmE accent as a NS norm, upon which accentedness

and nativeness of other varieties were judged. The fact that informants seemed to evaluate other English speaker varieties using AmE as a criterion on which other varieties are judged upon is not surprising considering the Chinese students that participated in the study were studying in the USA.

Bian (2009) measured Chinese university students' attitudes towards English accents and pronunciation through questionnaires and interviews. The results suggested that, not only did the informants display a strong preference to American and British accents, but also revealed a desire to be taught native-like pronunciation. Moreover, informants were particularly negative towards Chinese English pronunciation, which they deemed "*imperfect*". However, there were a small number of respondents that questioned the ability to reach a native-like pronunciation, and as a result argued for "the legitimacy of their Chinese influenced English pronunciation/accents" (Bian, 2009: 66).

He and Li (2009) measured the perceptions of Chinese English among 998 informants (795 university students; 189 teachers of English), using a matched-guise technique (see Section 2.4.2.2) to indirectly evaluate Chinese informants' attitudes towards a "typical 'China English' accent", and a second "more or less native-like [Chinese] accent". To ensure both accents were considered to be suitably convincing guises, the speech samples were verified as sufficiently native-like by a selection of native English teachers and local non-native English speakers. Informants were asked to rate the "two" speakers based upon 16 traits on a 5-point Likert agreement scale (see Section 2.4.2.1). He and Li (2009) also combined the matched-guise study with a questionnaire aimed at directly measuring the same informants' attitudes to Chinese English. In addition, the study included 103 interviews (82 students; 21 teachers), again to measure direct attitudes towards Chinese English, but using qualitative methods rather than quantitative. The results of the speech evaluation experiment suggested that the attitudes were generally more favourable towards the native-like English speaker, with significant differences in all but one of the traits listed (*'patient'*; see He & Li, 2009: 81). Furthermore, the Chinese English speaker was rated less favourable than the 'Standard English' Chinese speaker on the traits *'arrogant'* and *'aggressive'*, which were considered to be negative traits. Nevertheless, the evaluations accorded to the typical Chinese

speaker of English were not felt to be strongly unfavourable, with most of the evaluations close to the mid-point of a 5 point scale (where 5 was strongly positive and 1 was strongly negative). This led He & Li (2009) to the conclusion that the informants were “far from being negative toward ‘China English’ (sic)” (He & Li, 2009: 82).

The questionnaire also asked specific questions such as informants’ definition of ‘China English’ and the motivation to learn a ‘native’ variety of English. Notable responses included the relatively strong agreement that “*China would or should have its own variety of English*” (ibid: 79). Furthermore, 81.9% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they would like to sound like a NS, in contrast to 25.3% who agreed or strongly agreed that they would prefer to be “*identified clearly as Chinese*” (ibid: 79). Although the preference for Chinese English characteristics seems relatively low compared with the preference for a native-like English accent, an earlier study by Kirkpatrick & Xu (2002) among 117 Chinese university students found that only 17.5% of the informants preferred to be identified as Chinese through their English accent, raising the possibility of change to a more positive attitude towards Chinese English. The informants in He & Li’s (2009) study were also strong advocates for the incorporation of select features of Chinese English into the existing teacher model, and showed general agreement that students should be taught features of both Chinese English and other varieties of English besides ‘Standard English’. This led He & Li (2009) to conclude that “it is possible and necessary to incorporate select features of Chinese English into the existing pedagogic model based on ‘Standard English’ (ibid: 81), which supports the call by respondents in Bian’s (2009) study for legitimisation of the China English pronunciation/accent.

Furthermore, interview responses amongst the 103 Chinese university students and teachers seemed to reflect the attitudes shown in both of the implicit and explicit attitude experiments: that a standard (predominantly American) English is preferred, yet there was support for the inclusion of “salient ‘China English’ features” (ibid: 82) into the existing pedagogic model. Moreover, interviewees tended to consider communicative ability above a ‘standard English’ target. Reasons

given by He & Li (2009) to support the inclusion of Chinese English in teaching models were three-fold:

- i. Cross-cultural influence from Chinese is inevitable;
- ii. Only Chinese English can fully deliver some content ideas specific to Chinese culture; and
- iii. Compared with 'Standard English', 'China English' would be easier for Chinese EFL learners to acquire

(He & Li, 2009:82)

A mixed methodological approach was employed by Xu, Wang and Case (2010) in their investigation into 108 Chinese university students' attitudes towards six varieties of English before the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. Evaluations of two American English speakers, two British English speakers and two Chinese English speakers in a verbal guise experiment suggested that a hierarchy of attitudes towards English speakers existed, where standard native Englishes were rated more positively, followed by non-standard native Englishes, then non-native Englishes. The results revealed that, unsurprisingly, AmE and BrE were the preferred varieties of the Chinese English speakers (although informants did not differ markedly in their appreciation of either AmE or BrE). Through focus group interviews Xu, Wang & Case (2010) found that preference for native speaker Englishes "were influenced by the entrenched native models in their teaching materials and learning environment" (Xu, Wang & Case: 249). Nevertheless, further interview data suggested that students were aware of the existence of different varieties of English, and showed a tolerance and acceptance towards "so-defined less standard English" (ibid: 258). Xu, Wang & Case (2010: 258) also highlighted the growing importance of emergent regional varieties of English such as Chinese English, which they claimed "function as a means of creating cultural identities".

Zhang (2011) measured attitudes towards Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle varieties among 44 Chinese university students', 22 of which were studying at the University of Edinburgh in the UK, whilst the remaining 22 were studying at Peking University in China. Importantly for the present study, non-native varieties of English included in the study focused upon Asian

Englishes. Varieties of speech selected included Standard Southern British English (SSBE), Standard Scottish English (SSE), Singapore English (SingE), Indian English (InE), Chinese-accented English (ChE), and Korean-accented English (KoE). The study employed a verbal guise experiment (see Section 2.4.2.2), with informants at both the British university and the Chinese university asked to listen to and rate speakers based on eight adjectives on a bipolar semantic differential scale. Zhang (2011) found that attitudes towards the varieties tended to correspond with previous research; that native varieties of English were rated more positively than non-native accents (see Section 2.4.3). Results suggested that a clear hierarchy existed, where native speaker varieties were preferred, with SSBE followed by SSE, then speakers of SingE, KoE and InE, with the ChE speaker rated the least favourable variety of English. However, notably high evaluations were accorded to ChE for the trait '*intelligent*', SingE for '*confident*' and 'InE' for '*fluent*'. InE was consistently rated the most unfavourable on the majority of solidarity-related traits ('*pleasant*'; '*gentle*'; '*decent*') and a number of status-related traits ('*clear*'; '*intelligent*'). Zhang (2011) concluded that this was perhaps due to "prevalent non-preference towards the Indian English accent in China" (ibid: 15), which was further reflected in Chinese media. Chinese informants' evaluations of ChE though generally negative, did not seem to be overwhelmingly so, with the variety being evaluated highly on '*intelligent*' and '*clear*' traits. It is, however, worth noting that ChE was rated the most negative among the speakers for '*confident*' and '*fluent*'. KoE was deemed to be '*pleasant*', '*decent*' and '*gentle*', though rated less favourably on the remaining traits, thus corresponding to previous findings that non-standard/non-native varieties are rated higher in terms of solidarity rather than social status (see Section 2.4.3).

Zhang's (2011) study also required informants to identify the country of origin of the speakers. Results were consistent with results found in Japanese studies (McKenzie, 2008c); informants were consistently able to identify whether a speaker was native or non-native, however, further classification of the speakers was more problematic. With the exception of the SSBE and ChE speakers, the rate of successful identification for the remaining speakers was low. It is interesting to note that 100% of the informants were able to successfully identify the Chinese variety, in comparison to 77.5% that successfully identified SSBE. Zhang (2011) concluded that success in

identifying specific speakers was dependent on familiarity with the varieties. Moreover, Zhang (2011) investigated the level of exposure that informants had experienced with different varieties of English, by dividing the informant sample into two groups; the Chinese students studying in Edinburgh were considered to have greater exposure to English accents, while the Chinese students in Beijing were considered to have less exposure. It was found that the Edinburgh-based students rated native speakers more positively than the Beijing-based students, and the Beijing-based students were more tolerant of non-native varieties in comparison to the Edinburgh-based students. Thus, Zhang (2011) concluded that both familiarity and exposure may directly influence Chinese informants' attitudes towards different varieties of English.

3.2 Comparative studies

Although there has been a considerable body of research into attitudes towards varieties of English in China, Japan and Korea, studies have generally focused upon one homogenous national group of informants. In order to investigate attitudes towards varieties of English in a cross-cultural context, it is necessary to conduct the same research experiment with heterogeneous national groups of informants. This will allow comparative analyses between the different groups of informants.

Jenkins (2007) used an adapted perceptual dialectology (see Section 2.4.2.1) experiment with NNS teachers from twelve countries. A world map was provided, with marked boundaries and numbered key which corresponded to labels of ten pre-selected countries from predominantly Expanding Circle countries (but also involving a small number of Inner and Outer Circle countries), which, relevant to this study, included China, India and Japan (see Section 4.2 for countries included in the present study). An accompanying questionnaire asked informants to rank the five 'best' accents, and rate the ten pre-selected countries for correctness and pleasantness among other traits. Among the informants of the twelve countries selected for the study, Jenkins (2007) found that Asian Englishes were rated lowest, even in comparison to other non-native English speaker (NNS) accents (such as European NNS). Japanese and Korean accents elicited strong negative responses, with Japanese "by far the worst rated [from the pre-selected accents] for correctness" (Jenkins,

2007: 174). Interestingly, Chinese informants were particularly negative towards the Japanese accent with comments such as ‘*not very good, difficult to understand*’, ‘*bad*’ and ‘*not so good as the Chinese*’. Conversely, Japanese informants were favourable towards the China English accent with descriptions such as ‘*nice*’, ‘*beautiful in pronunciation*’, ‘*good*’ and ‘*very clear*’. Korean English received almost entirely negative comments from all informants across the twelve countries, with intelligibility highlighted as the main reason for the low evaluation. Particular phonological features were mentioned by informants, however according to Jenkins (2007: 178), “only one [informant] commented on a sound substitution that has been shown to cause a lot of intelligibility problems”. In fact, according to Jenkins (2007:179) there appeared to be a contradiction: “[informants] often cited specific features of an accent that they considered to be unintelligible, and yet the very fact that they were aware of a feature implies that it did not present an intelligibility problem for them”. Jenkins (2007) concluded that “something else is involved below the surface, and that ‘something else’ has to do with language attitudes” (ibid: 179).

Evaluations of informants’ own group English accent were generally negative, though it is worth noting that Chinese informants had a much higher evaluation of their own English accent when compared with other NNS informants. To account for this, Jenkins (2007: 188) believes there to be a continuous shift away from linguistic inferiority, in China in particular:

“Again, while linguistic insecurity is certainly in evidence ... it is also encouraging that some respondents appear to feel reasonably positive about their own accent, and the Chinese respondents particularly so. Giles and Niedzielski (1998) point out that ‘language “facts” can sometimes swiftly change’ (p. 89) and that ‘[w]hen subordinate groups in society come to question the legitimacy of their inferiority roles in society and attribute these to oppressive and discriminatory measures of an “elite” group, they can redefine the beauty and importance of their language, accordingly, and sometimes vociferously’ (pp. 89-90)”

Jenkins' (2007) research is of particular relevance to the present study due to its comparative nature. Although Jenkins' (2007) study used an entirely direct methodology, and arguably may have imposed potentially culturally-bound evaluative criteria upon the informants (for example with the use of '*pleasantness*' which may or may not be used to evaluate speakers in each of the countries that participated in the study), the study highlights complexities in the evaluation of other NNS English accents, and evaluations of NNS informants' own group accent. Further investigation is required into NNS attitudes towards NNS varieties of English, and attitudes towards their own NNS variety of English, using not only direct methods to elicit attitudes, but also indirect methods in order to gain a more in-depth understanding into what may cause different evaluations.

3.3 Summary of relevant language attitude studies in China, Japan and Korea

The language attitude studies discussed in this chapter have provided some useful insight into language attitudes in China, Japan and Korea. The findings of the studies have generally indicated that, consistent with common findings of language attitude studies, Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants tend to judge native speakers of English higher on status-related traits than non-native speakers of English. Moreover, non-native speakers of English (in particular speakers who share the same national group membership as the informants) are often evaluated more favourably on solidarity-related traits than native speakers of English.

In Chinese and Japanese studies, identification of each variety of English has proved problematic. There is evidence to suggest that distinguishing between native speakers and non-native speakers has a relatively high degree of accuracy, but successfully identifying specific varieties within the native speaker category, and within the non-native category is particularly challenging for informants (Zhang, 2011; McKenzie, 2008b). Japanese informants often had trouble identifying their own form of spoken English (Chiba, Mastuura & Yamamoto, 1995; Rivers, 2011), though some research suggests that the stronger the degree of accentedness in a speaker's Japanese English, the higher the recognition rate becomes (McKenzie, 2008b).

Chinese, Japanese and Korean attitudes towards their own varieties were mixed. Although research suggests that Korean and Japanese informants generally assigned negative evaluations to their own varieties (Starks & Paltridge, 1996; Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011), and showed little to no interest in speaking a Korean and Japanese variety respectively (Shim, 1995; Starks & Paltridge, 1996), there is evidence of ingroup solidarity with regards to stronger (or more identifiable) English accents of their own spoken form of English (McKenzie, 2008a). Chinese attitudes tended to be less negative towards their own spoken form of English, which was rated 'intelligent' and 'clear', yet 'unconfident' and 'influential' (*sic*) in one study (Zhang, 2011), and there was support for a 'clearly identifiable accent' and for the incorporation of 'Chinese characteristics of English' into pedagogic models (He & Li, 2009), something which, so far, seems to have received little support in Korean or Japanese contexts. Another study found that Chinese, Japanese and Korean attitudes towards their own English accents were generally negative, though Chinese informants' were notably less negative towards their own English accent in comparison to Japanese and Korean evaluations of their own English accent (Jenkins, 2007).

Attitudes towards other Asian Englishes also appear to be complex. Korean informants displayed negative evaluations towards other Asian varieties than their own, with particularly strong negative evaluations of Japanese English (Shin, 2011), though reasons for this were unclear. Chinese informants gave overall negative evaluations to Indian speakers of English; conclusions, though speculative, were due to negative perceptions of Indian speakers in Chinese media. Chinese informants also held Korean English high in terms of solidarity, deeming it 'pleasant', 'decent' and 'gentle' (Zhang, 2011). However, Chinese informants in Jenkins (2007) study rated the Japanese English accent particularly negative in terms of correctness. Japanese informants showed an overall lack of awareness of other Asian varieties (Matsuda, 2000, 2003), but recent studies suggest that attitudes towards other Asian varieties are much more negative than their own spoken form of English (Rivers, 2011). In contrast however, Jenkins (2007) found that Japanese informants were positive towards Chinese English, describing the Chinese English accent as 'nice', 'beautiful in pronunciation' and 'clear'.

Finally, the language attitude studies outlined in this chapter have helped to identify suitable research methodologies for the present study. In recent years it has become more frequent to employ a verbal guise technique for indirect measurement of language attitudes (Cargile, Takai & Rodriguez, 2006; Jung (2005); Kim, 2007; McKenzie, 2010; Rivers, 2011; Sasayama, 2013; Takahashi, 2011; Zhang, 2012; Zhang & Hu, 2008; Yook & Lindemann, 2013), and to include a speaker identification task in order to provide more detailed data for analysis and accurate interpretation of results (Kim, 2007; McKenzie, 2010; Rivers, 2011; Yook & Lindemann, 2013). Direct methodologies have employed questionnaires and interviews, but have recently introduced folk linguistic methodologies such as perceptual dialectology tasks (Jenkins, 2007; McKenzie, 2010), which aim to determine what informants think of language variation (both in English speakers, and in their own language) and the effects that may have upon language attitudes. Moreover, a review of the language attitude studies conducted in China, Japan and Korea has highlighted the usefulness of utilising a mixed methodology of both direct and indirect measurements (Kim, 2007; McKenzie, 2010; Sasayama, 2013; Xu, Wang & Case, 2010) in order to provide a richer data set to aid in interpretation and conclusions.

The following chapter provides a more in-depth discussion and rationale for the research methodology selected for the present study. In addition, in order to demonstrate the rigour and robustness of the research instrument, the design process of each experiment for the present study is described in detail.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

Overview

Chapter 3 gave an overview of previous language attitude studies towards specific varieties of English amongst Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants. It provided justification for the further need to study Expanding Circle attitudes towards Outer and Expanding Circle varieties of English, and in particular to collect data that allows for comparative studies within countries where English is not used for intraethnic communication (see Section 1.1), but for communication between those for whom English is not a first language. Chapter 4 gives a detailed description of the aims of the current study, and the methodology employed to achieve those aims. Firstly, it begins by outlining the objectives of the study and the research questions, followed by a description of the informants that participated in the study. It will then describe the research instrument, including aims and the design process. Finally, it will give an account of the pilot studies conducted in order to design the individual parts of the research instrument, and what was learnt from conducting the pilot studies.

4.1 Aims

As described in Chapter 3, a detailed examination of existing language attitude studies within China, Japan and Korea has demonstrated that there is potential theoretical and methodological value in conducting in-depth research within East Asia into language attitudes towards varieties of English. Although the studies cited have often involved measuring East Asian attitudes towards Inner Circle varieties of English, as a result of the growing interest in the World Englishes paradigm and the use of English as an international language (see Chapter 1) there has been a subsequent growth in the number of studies incorporating Englishes from the Outer and Expanding Circle. Since English has become increasingly more important as a means of international communication between speakers who do not share the same language, there is a clear justification

to shift the focus away from investigating attitudes towards Inner Circle English varieties, and solely towards measuring attitudes towards English as spoken in the Outer and Expanding Circles, where it is the preferred method of international cross-cultural communication. Moreover, by focusing upon attitudes of informants within the Expanding Circle, the largest group of English language learners, the present study measures attitudes towards English speakers from areas between which there is a greater probability of interaction in the future.

As shown in the review of language studies in East Asia (see Chapter 3), previous studies tended to concentrate on measuring explicit or implicit attitudes (see Chapter 2) towards English varieties using either direct or indirect methods, often in isolation from one another. Studies that employed a mixed methodology often neglected to statistically compare implicit and explicit attitude data, therefore limiting the investigation of any possible effect that may exist between them. Furthermore, studies have traditionally focused on measuring attitudes of homogenous informant groups i.e. attitudes towards English varieties among Chinese informants, among Japanese informants or among Korean informants separately. Due to differing methodologies, and different timing of the studies, comparing and contrasting language attitudes between informants of different nationalities is therefore very difficult. By focusing on informant samples across China, Japan and Korea, and using the same research instrument in each case, the present study thus provides a data set that allows for direct comparison between language attitudes in the three countries.

Finally, from the language attitudes studies presented in Chapter 3, it is evident that variety identification has often been overlooked in the selected countries. Variety identification is important because patterns of identification and misidentification may reveal more about the ideological framework of informants (Lindemann, 2003). Moreover, variety identification allows for greater accuracy in interpretation of results (McKenzie, 2010; Yook & Lindemann, 2013).

The present study, firstly, aims to conduct an international cross-cultural comparative study of language attitudes in China, Japan and Korea to determine the attitudes towards Asian varieties of English. Secondly the study aims to use a mixed methodological approach, utilising direct and

indirect methods to elicit explicit and implicit attitudes (see Chapter 2 for a discussion of language attitudes) to allow for a more in-depth discussion of the workings of the language attitudes in question. Thirdly, the aim of the study is to build upon findings of existing studies by investigating potential social determiners in order to establish whether the determinants found in more detailed Japanese studies (in particular gender, and ability to identify each spoken variety) also affect attitudes in China and Korea, or whether they are exclusive to Japanese cultural evaluations.

In short, the aim of the present study is to provide additional empirical data to inform existing research into attitudes towards Outer and Expanding Circle varieties of English in the East Asian region, and to address gaps identified in the previous chapter.

4.2 The Research Questions

The present study sets out to answer the following questions:

1) What are the implicit attitude evaluations of East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean) university students towards representative speakers of English from the following nationalities?

i) China ii) Hong Kong iii) India iv) Japan v) Korea

2) What are the explicit attitudes of East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean) university students towards people from the following nationality groups?

i) China ii) Japan iii) Korea

3) To what extent (if any) do explicit attitudes towards national groups affect implicit language attitudes?

4) What are the effects (if any) of the following background variables upon informants' evaluations of the speakers:

i) The nationality of the informants ii) Gender

5) To what extent (if any) do patterns of identification and misidentification influence attitudes towards the speakers of English?

4.3 Informants

This section describes the choice of the informants used in the study, including the sample population and sample size. A detailed outline of the final informants that participated in the study is then provided.

4.3.1 Choice of informants

The study was conducted among students at six universities across the People's Republic of China (mainland) (hereafter China), Japan and the Republic of Korea (hereafter Korea). A deliberate choice was made to implement the study in China, Japan and Korea as opposed to among Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants living, working or studying in the UK. Although there is some evidence amongst English language attitude research that difference in the attitudes between informants in their home country and informants studying abroad is statistically insignificant (McKenzie, 2004), Beinhoff (2009) speculates that living and studying in an English speaking country may affect listeners' attitudes, arguing that, "[informants] may have reconsidered many stereotypes due to contact with speakers of English from a variety of backgrounds" (ibid: 133). Beinhoff also highlights the deliberate choice of informants to study in an English university as a possible confounding factor in their attitudes towards different varieties of English: "[Non-native speakers] of English in English [native speaker] environments are a self-selected group and are prone to have a certain bias which might distinguish them from [non-native speakers] in their own L1 environment" (Beinhoff, 2009: 137). As demonstrated in Section 3.1.3, positive evaluation of native speaker accents may lead to the downgrading of non-native accents (e.g. Zhang, 2011). Thus, by locating the study in the home country of the informants it offers insight into the attitude of English language learners who have had limited experience interacting in English speaking countries, which is believed to be a more realistic scenario for the future use of English (see Chapter 1). However, such a study results in greater cost and time constraints, which limited

control over the informant sample somewhat (see Section 4.3.2 below, and Section 7.2 for a detailed list of limitations).

4.3.2 Informant sample population/participating institutions

University students were chosen as the informant sample for the present study for a number of reasons. Firstly, the participation of university students is a practical solution to the time and cost constraints of the study. Secondly, it offers greater access to larger samples of the population in one field trip. Thirdly, since previous language attitude research has tended to focus on student population samples (see Section 3.1), by selecting a similar population and age range as previous studies, it maximises the possibility of comparing and contrasting findings with the present study. Finally, student populations are more likely to have gained higher exposure to the use of English than older populations, through increased foreign language policy (see Chapter 1), and the use of English in popular culture, and could therefore provide more informative findings on modern attitudes towards different varieties of English.

The participating universities were selected on a voluntary basis. Table 1 shows the participating universities and the informant sample numbers. Due to the large scale of the study, and the fact that informant samples were based on students that had volunteered, or teachers that had invited the researcher into their class(es) to complete the survey, it was not possible to control for the course of study or, to some extent, age of each informant. However, informants were predominantly between the ages of 18 and 23, and due to the foreign language policy of each country (see Chapter 1), the author was confident that each informant was somewhat familiar with English. Tables 2 and 3 present the average age, and course of study of informants, in addition to the average length of time informants had studied English.

Table 1: Frequency of informants according to institution and country

Nationality	University	City, (Province or Prefecture)	Frequency	Total (n)
China	Xi'an Jiaotong Liverpool University	Suzhou (Jiangsu)	83	172
	University of Nottingham Ningbo China	Ningbo (Zhejiang)	89	
Japan	Kansai University	Osaka (Osaka)	158	203
	Aoyama Gakuin University	Tokyo (Tokyo)	45	
Korea	Hongik University	Seoul (Seoul)	91	179
	Gachon University	Seongnam (Gyeonggi)	88	
TOTAL (N)				554

Table 2: Informants' age and length of time studying English according to each country

Informant Country of Origin	Age range of informants	Ave. Age of informants	Ave. length of English study (years)
China* (n = 172)	18-34	18.94	8.73
Japan (n = 203)	18-25	19.50	8.06
Korea (n = 179)	18-29	21.80	8.89
TOTAL (N = 554)	18-34	20.10	8.54

Tables 1 and 2 indicate that the informants surveyed in China, Japan and Korea were of relatively equal numbers. The average age of informants across all three countries was 20.1 years old, and had studied English language on average 8.5 years. Although age of informants spanned between 18 and 34 years old, in China and Japan 93% and 80 per cent of informants respectively were between the ages of 18 and 20, and 71% of informants in Korea were between the ages of 18 and 23.

As mentioned above, the course of study of each informant was difficult to control for, since the study relied on volunteers and the timeframe for data collection was short; data was collected over only one week per institution. Nevertheless, in order to provide a more detailed breakdown of the

background of informants, the courses of study of informants are provided in Table 3 below. Courses of study are divided into general fields, but a more detailed breakdown with regards to individual courses included within each field of study can be found in Appendix D.

Table 3: Informants' course of study according to discipline and country

Field of Study	China	Japan	Korea	total
Art & Design	0	0	19	19
Business	90	99	21	210
Engineering	44	11	16	71
Health	0	0	2	2
Humanities & the Arts	23	63	19	105
Law	0	0	89	89
Sciences	15	21	4	40
Free major (undecided)	0	0	9	9
Did not complete	0	9	0	9
TOTAL	172	203	179	554

Table 3 above indicates the wide variety of courses studied by the informants. Since the aim of the study was to survey Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants who had some experience of formal English language learning, the course of study was not intended as a background variable and is provided only for the reader's information.

4.4 The Research Instrument

This section outlines the research instrument aims and offers justification for the methods chosen for the study. The design procedure of the instrument also is described and justified where possible. The aims of the research instrument are to investigate the attitudes of Chinese, Japanese and Korean learners of English towards a selection of East Asian varieties of English by direct and indirect methods (see Section 2.4.2) (for more information regarding the selection of the speakers see Section 4.7.3). In addition to measuring attitudes directly and indirectly, the study will

investigate the ability of informants to identify the country of origin for the speakers of the selected speech varieties, since previous research has highlighted that patterns of identification/misidentification can affect attitudes towards varieties of English speech (McKenzie, 2010; Rivers, 2010) (see Section 3.1). The methodologies employed in the present research instrument are consistent with methodologies utilised in previous language attitude studies, as outlined in Section 2.4.2 and the review of relevant language attitude studies in China, Japan and Korea in Chapter 3.

The research instrument was divided into four parts, with parts one and two concerned with comprising the speech evaluation experiment, part three measuring explicit attitudes towards Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups, and part four collecting background information about the informants to help control and inform about the informants. The following sections will outline the methodologies utilised to achieve the research aims listed in Section 4.1 and 4.2. The full research instrument is also provided in Appendix C.

4.4.1 Part One: the speech evaluation experiment

The objective of the first part of the research instrument is to investigate, indirectly, the implicit attitudes of informants towards the chosen speech varieties. As discussed in Chapter 2, methods of implicit attitude measurement have gained prominence in the field of sociolinguistics, and are believed to be useful for measuring underlying attitudes that informants may not be aware of or unable to readily report. The following section will outline the methodology selected to measure implicit attitudes in the present study.

4.4.1.1 The Verbal Guise Technique

In order to elicit implicit attitudes towards English speakers from China, Hong Kong, India, Japan and Korea, the research instrument employed a verbal-guise technique (VGT) (see Section 2.4.2.2), an adaptation of the matched-guise technique (MGT) (see Section 2.4.2.2). The MGT was devised by Lambert *et al* (1960) as a method for measuring attitudes indirectly, by recording bilingual speakers who read the same passage of text in both English and French. Informants were then asked to evaluate each speaker, unaware that the English and French speakers were in fact the same

people but speaking in different guises. The MGT was developed due to concerns over whether informants' answers to direct questions about their attitudes can truly reflect privately held inter-ethnic views. Lambert et al (1960) believed that 'private attitudes' may be hidden, since answers given during experiments may be affected by *social desirability bias* (Dörnyei, 2003: 12) i.e. informants may give answers which they feel are socially appropriate, or *acquiescence bias* (Cronbach, 1946) i.e. informants may be naturally inclined to agree with an item regardless of its content. Matched-guise techniques were therefore used in earlier language attitude experiments as a way of bypassing these biases and measuring attitudes that were believed to be a truer reflection of informants' language attitudes. However, there are practical limitations with the MGT, in particular with finding speakers that are able to imitate different guises accurately, especially when measuring attitudes towards a larger number of language varieties. An adaptation of the MGT, the verbal guise technique (VGT), was designed in order to overcome such practical limitations, using different 'authentic' speakers for each guise, thus providing a more natural speech sample. For the present study, which measures attitudes towards speakers of English from Mainland China, Hong Kong, India, Japan and Korea, the VGT was a more suitable methodology than the MGT, since finding a speaker who could accurately imitate each variety of English was extremely difficult.

The VGT, however, is not without its limitations; the use of different speakers results in greater variation in paralinguistic differences such as pitch and intonation. It is therefore very important to control any extraneous variables in the speech of each speaker that may lead to evaluations of paralinguistic differences such as voice quality, speech style and content of the speech rather than evaluations of the speech variety itself. In the case of the present study, in order to limit evaluation of voice qualities, each selected speaker was female, and the content of the speech stimulus was carefully designed to be as 'factually neutral' as possible (see section 4.4.1.6). Since the varieties selected were viewed as distinct in their segmental (i.e. phonological) and supra-segmental (i.e. stress, rhythm, intonation) features, variation in voice qualities of the speakers was encouraged rather than controlled. The focus of the study was not on isolated features of speech of each variety, but attitudes towards the speech varieties as a whole. It was for this reason that the author of the present study was not concerned with differences in voice qualities of the five speakers, and thus

did not control for features such as pitch and tone, but rather sought to use speakers deemed by each speech community as representative of each speaker variety. A discussion of limitations of the study can be found in Chapter 7.2.

4.4.1.2 Semantic differential scale

MGT and VGT experiments traditionally use written scales to measure the attitudes of informants. Previous language attitude studies have used either Likert scales, scales which ask informants for their level of agreement of a statement (usually on a 5 or 7-point continuum from strongly agree to strongly disagree), or semantic differential scales. A semantic differential scale is one where “a group of people judge a set of concepts against a set of adjectival scales” (Osgood, 1964: 173). Rather than asking informants to respond to a variety of statements concerning the concept under study (as with Likert or Thurstone scales), semantic differential scales instead present the concept directly and ask informants to respond to it through the use of, predominantly, 7-point scales bounded by bipolar adjectives (Crano & Brewer, 2002: 289). For instance, two bipolar adjectives (e.g. friendly, unfriendly) would sit either side of a seven point scale, and informants would be asked to rate the speakers by circling one of the seven points on the scale, where a score of 1 represents the most friendly, and 7 represents the most unfriendly (or vice-versa). Semantic differential scales thus provide a measure of attitude intensity, an important attribute of any attitude held (McKenzie, 2010). Semantic differential scales tend to provide an odd number of divisions in order to provide a neutral position for informants.

Semantic differential scales offer a number of advantages over alternative attitude measurement scales, not least because they are inexpensive and less time-consuming to design than alternative measurement scales. It is believed that semantic differential scales also offer high internal consistency, and temporal stability (Crano & Brewer, 2009: 290). However, one needs to be careful that the selection of traits that are used for the scale are appropriate to the population sample, in this case an evaluative criteria among Chinese, Japanese and Korea informants (see Section 4.7.6 for further information regarding the selection of traits).

4.4.2 Part Two: the country of origin identification task

The aim of the identification task was to measure whether informants could identify the country of origin of each speaker. Lindemann (2003: 253) suggests that “research not including information on listener beliefs about the speakers’ social groups may be misleading, since the listeners may not know where the speakers are from, or may believe the speakers to be from some other place”. Listener expectation, for example, may constitute perceptions about the speakers’ backgrounds. Therefore, those studies that do not include a task designed to elicit whether the informants are able to correctly identify where the speaker originates “[leaves] open the question of which group they believe themselves to be evaluating” (Lindemann, 2003: 249). This is particularly problematic since speech evaluations “may not reflect reactions to distinctive speech patterns in their own right but may be confounded by other cues about the social origins of the speaker” (Foon, 1986: 522). As has been highlighted in the review of previous language attitude studies, successful identification of varieties has often proved problematic for informants for whom English is not their first language (see Section 3.1). Furthermore, successful identification of speakers has been shown in a number of studies to have a significant effect upon the evaluations of speakers (McKenzie, 2010; Rivers, 2011), where, for example, speakers who were perceived to originate from Inner Circle countries tended to be evaluated higher on status-related traits than speakers perceived to originate from countries where English is not. Therefore, the inclusion of a variety identification item was felt beneficial to accurately interpret the results of the present study. The task therefore asked informants to identify the country of origin of each speaker. After the initial speech evaluation task, where informants were asked to rate each speaker according to the traits provided on an evaluative scale, informants were played the speech recordings once more, this time with explicit instructions to write the perceived country of origin of each speaker. The question was open-ended, since providing multiple choice options in a pre-determined list may have affected the accuracy of identification, where informants would be more likely to correctly guess the country of origin, for instance through the process of elimination.

An identification task also allows the researcher to identify misidentification patterns. Misidentification is believed to be an important factor in measuring language attitudes studies, as

highlighted by Lindemann (2003: 355): “Patterns of misidentification are nevertheless interesting in their own right, as they may tell us more about the ideological framework of the respondents”. It is important to note that the identification task followed the speech evaluation task in order to limit informants, where possible, from making an explicit decision over the origin of the speaker while evaluating the speech sample. A more detailed description of the research experiment procedure is provided in Section 4.9.

4.4.3 Part three: The adapted perceptual dialectology experiment

4.4.3.1 Perceptual dialectology

The aims of perceptual dialectology experiments (see Section 2.4.2.1) are to investigate, directly, what language users believe and think about language. According to Montgomery & Beal (2011: 121) perceptual dialectology, “explores where people believe dialect areas to exist, and the geographical extent of these areas, along with how these people react to spoken language [and] informs linguistics accounts of how and why language varies.” Perceptual dialectology is traditionally used by researchers to investigate dialect boundaries within a particular country. For example, Niedzielski & Preston (2000) provided informants with a blank map of the USA, with only state boundaries visible, and asked informants in the USA to circle and label what they believed to be the main speech regions within the USA. Of particular interest to the present study was the finding that, when asked to label main speech regions in the USA, informants often included descriptive and attitudinal responses. For example, Southern USA accents were described as ‘hillbilly’ ‘courteous’ and ‘gentlemanly’ but ‘ignorant’, and New Yorkers as ‘fast’, and ‘rude’. Since the present study aimed to investigate the possible effect (if any) of explicit attitudes (i.e. stereotypes) upon implicit attitudes (i.e. evaluation of the speakers), eliciting attitudinal responses was deemed particularly important. Employing a perceptual dialectology experiment in conjunction with a speech evaluation experiment using the same respondents is particularly worthwhile, since perceptual dialectology experiments elicit attitudes directly based upon mapped outlines and category names rather than through the use of voice samples in matched-guise experiments (see Section 2.4.2.2), which aim to measure attitudes indirectly (Preston, 1999). The advantages of employing methods that measure explicit attitudes, in tandem with an implicit attitude

measurement are important for understanding language attitudes, since these methods investigate “*how* informants perceive variation, and not simply whether they do” (Montgomery & Beal, 2011: 129, emphasis in original). Hence, there is considerable support for using a mixed methodological approach, which also allows for comparative analysis, as highlighted by Garrett (2010: 97):

“The collection of open-ended data alongside the completion of rating scales allow[s] insights into [the] multidimensionality [of language attitudes], providing richer data with which to interpret the quantitative patterns identified in the attitude scale ratings”.

With the present study investigating explicit (stereotyped) attitudes towards three national groups (China, Japan and Korea), the focus was not specifically upon perceived boundaries of language variety in English. In addition, since the three countries were all Expanding Circle countries, where English is learned primarily as a language of communication between speakers who do not share the same first language, it was deemed less useful to investigate beliefs of language variation in English between the three countries in the same method employed in contemporary perceptual dialectology experiments. In other words, asking informants to circle areas where they believed English to be spoken differently on a map including China, Japan and Korea was not felt to be a suitable method for obtaining perceptions about language variation in the area. Instead, the researcher decided to include a question which directly asked informants to identify any specific features of English speech for each country, thus allowing an insight into beliefs about linguistic stereotypes (see Section 2.2.2) between the selected countries. Thus, while the explicit attitude experiment in the present study takes influence from folklinguistic methodologies, the experiment differs from methods employed in contemporary perceptual dialectology experiments by not investigating perceptual dialectal/accent boundaries, and focusing more upon eliciting (stereotyped) attitudinal responses about national groups and linguistic stereotyped beliefs about the way in which they speak English. The experiment was nevertheless labelled as an *adapted perceptual dialectology experiment* as a result of the influence of work by Preston (1989; 1999), Niedzielski & Preston (2000), and Long & Preston (2002).

4.4.3.2 The map task

A map of East Asia was provided for each informant, with only China, Japan and Korea visible (the full research instrument is provided in Appendix C). To avoid confusion, the entire Korea peninsula was included in the map, with a marked boundary between the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), and the Republic of Korea (South Korea). In order to focus informants' attention upon the three countries (China, Japan, South Korea), the other sections of the map were deliberately left blank. Three boxes corresponding to each of the three countries (and highlighted by arrows) were provided, each of which was divided into three sections. Informants were instructed to complete the three sections of each box which corresponded to the following questions (see below):

Look at the map below. Follow the instructions.

- 1. Write the name of the highlighted country*
- 2. In the boxes:*
 - a. describe the personality of someone from each country*
 - b. describe the way people from that country speak English*

The aim of question 1 was to aid in accurate interpretation of the data. In other words, asking informants to name the countries confirmed that the subsequent comments described the intended national groups. The rationale behind providing a blank map comprising of the three countries was in order for the visual aid to act as a cue or trigger for eliciting responses, since more cognitive effort is required to identify the country than to answer the questions than simply asking informants to “*describe the personality of someone from China*” and so on.

Question 2a was aimed at eliciting attitudinal (stereotyped) responses, whilst question 2b was aimed at eliciting linguistic stereotyped beliefs about English spoken in each country. Question 2 (a and b) presented above is the question as it was presented on the final survey. However, the question had experienced a number of changes as a result of complications with the instructions given identified in pilot testing (detailed in Section 4.8). The questions shown above, therefore,

were demonstrated to be the most effective method to elicit the required information from informants.

4.4.4 Part Four: Background information of informants

In an effort to control potentially confounding factors, the research instrument requested informants to complete personal information including age, gender, nationality, course of study, and length of time studying English. Care was taken to ensure the informant sample from each country were born and/or considered themselves to be native to the country in question, and that informants had all experienced some formal English language education. For a breakdown of informants by nationality, age and length of time studying English, see Table 2.

4.5 The choice of background variables

As discussed in Chapter 3, existing studies have investigated social variables that may affect attitudes towards language varieties. In Japan, Starks and Paltridge (1996) and McKenzie (2008a) both found gender to be a significant determiner of attitude towards varieties of English. In the context of China and Korea however, the author of the present study knows of no studies that have incorporated gender into their research, therefore possible effects of gender upon attitudes to varieties of English are unknown. Thus it was deemed beneficial to include gender as an independent variable in the present study. In a number of existing studies across the three countries, familiarity with the selected varieties (see Section 3.1) was determined to have a significant influence on attitudes towards varieties in general (Matsuura, Chiba & Fujieda, 1999; Jung, 2005; McKenzie, 2008c). In order to further investigate this claim, a variety identification task was included in the research instrument (see Section 4.4.2). In Japanese studies, self-perceived proficiency (Chihara & Oller, 1978; McKenzie, 2008b; see Section 3.1.1) and motivation (Chihara & Oller, 1978) were also demonstrated to affect attitudes towards varieties of English. However, although investigation of these possible determinants would be useful, the researcher believed them to be beyond the scope of the present study.

Finally, due to the cross-cultural nature of the study, a key independent variable for the present study was the nationality of the informants. Nationality can be defined as the country from which informants believe themselves to belong. It is acknowledged that the issue of nationality is more complicated in China, a country comprising of no fewer than 56 ethnic groups, and speaking an estimated 292 languages, which in Western countries may be considered nations in their own right (Fei, 1980). However, it is believed that, in China, the term nationality is used in a broad sense (ibid) therefore rather than divide into nation-states, ethnic minorities are in fact termed as an “ethnic group”, “clans” or “tribes” *within* China. Therefore, the researcher concluded that, regardless of ethnic origin (a variable which was not the focus of the present study), informants born and living within the borders of China would be expected to report themselves to be citizens of China.

In summary, the informants were requested to provide the following personal information, which were then selected as independent variables to investigate possible effects upon evaluations of the speakers:

- (i) Nationality
- (ii) Gender

In addition to the nationality and gender of the informants, the informants were asked to provide their age, information about their course of study (name of course and whether it was undergraduate or postgraduate), and the length of time (in years) that they had studied English. This background information was used only to give a more detailed description of the informants and was not included as part of the independent variables (see Section 4.3.2 for a detailed breakdown of the informants).

4.6 Ethics

Participation in the study was not compulsory; classes where the study took place (based on teacher volunteers) were notified in advance of the study, thus giving informants the opportunity to decide whether or not to take part. Participating informants were asked to sign a consent form which gave a detailed description of how the data would be used (and which they retained a copy). In addition, informants were provided with a form which contained additional information about the aims of the study. Contact information for the researcher was also included in the forms, and informants were encouraged to contact the researcher if they had any further questions or concerns regarding the study or wished to withdraw from the study. All informants were over the age of 18, and all answers to the research experiment were anonymous, with only a number to identify each individual response. In addition, the present study was also approved by research ethics committees in each of the participating universities.

4.7 Research instrument design

To ensure that the research instrument used was suitably robust, the design of the instrument was required to undergo a number of testing stages. This section outlines the procedure of the development of each stage of the instrument. Firstly, the design of the speech stimulus is described, followed by the recording of the speech varieties, and then selection of the recordings for the final research instrument. There is then a detailed description of the procedure used to select traits/adjectives that were used for the final speech evaluation task.

4.7.1. Speech stimulus

Texts or speech stimuli that are used for matched-guise and verbal-guise experiments aim to be as ‘factually neutral’ as possible. The use of such texts is “intended to minimise the risk that respondents react more to some aspect of the contents of the text rather than to the speaker” (Garrett, 2010: 59). In earlier language attitude studies (e.g. Lambert *et al.*, 1960), the speech

stimulus often comprised of a selection of text to be read out loud by speakers, thus ensuring the content was identical for each speech recording. However, this method can be criticised, since reading aloud results in different delivery than spontaneous speech. To address this, Lindemann (2003) designed a map to be used as the speech stimulus, and asked speakers to give directions from a designated start point to a designated finish point, using a dotted line as a guide. The map incorporated symbols to be used as landmarks when describing the directions. By providing a speech stimulus based upon images rather than text, it thus allowed for the recording of spontaneous speech, and since the map and the map items were identical for each speaker the content had some degree of consistency.

Within English speech there are believed to be differences not only in segmental features i.e. pronunciation of vowels and consonants, which may (or may not) be influenced by a speaker's first language (e.g. Escudero, 2007; Fledge, 1995; Kuhl & Iverson, 1995) but also prosodic (supra-segmental) features such as clarity, intonation, fluency and pauses (Matsuura, Chiba & Fujieda, 1999). Design of the speech stimulus therefore can arguably not control for all features of speech, and for the purposes of this experiment, nor would it be beneficial to do so, since the aim is to measure attitudes towards 'representative' speakers of English from each country, characteristic features included. In order to allow for a suitable range of speech features, items included on the map task were designed to elicit as many different phonemes (used in English speech) as possible. The rationale behind eliciting such phonological variety was that it maximises the opportunity of recording identifiable features of speech for each variety.

After careful consideration, the items selected for inclusion on the map task were a hospital, a factory, a volcano, a bridge (running over a river), a mountain range, a church, and a theatre. A dotted line represented the path between the map items, and speakers were asked to give directions from the start, using the map items as landmarks to navigate to the final map item, the theatre. In addition to the anticipated directions (e.g. 'right', 'left', 'straight' and so on), the author believed that the design of the map task accounted for a broad range of phonemes, and gave ample

opportunity for elicitation of phonological characteristic features specific to each speaker. The copy of the map task is provided in Appendix A.

Nevertheless, a limitation inherent in using images to elicit spontaneous speech is that there was no guarantee that speakers would use the intended item label i.e. an image of a ‘boat’ may elicit the label ‘ship’. Moreover, language used beyond the items provided on the map i.e. in the giving of directions, was not under the control of the researcher. The transcriptions of the directions given are presented in Section 4.7.5, and indicated that there was generally little variety in the vocabulary used by each speaker in completion of the task.

Length of the map task also needed to be considered, as the possible effect of *listener-fatigue* needed to be taken into consideration, where for instance evaluations of the speaker(s) may be affected due to tiredness as a result of long recordings (e.g. Campbell-Kibler, 2008: 653). The speech recordings selected were thus all similar in length, and did not exceed far beyond one minute in duration. For further details about each recording (length; speech rate) see Section 4.7.5.

4.7.2 The recording of the speech varieties

This section describes the recording of the speech varieties and the problems that needed to be addressed when doing so. The recording of the speech varieties took place in Newcastle upon Tyne between April – May 2012. Care was taken to ensure that the recordings were of high audio quality, using a high quality specialised microphone, and fed into an audio software package. Numerous speakers were recorded, and speech samples of similar lengths were then selected for the next stage of selection (described below).

4.7.3 Choice of speakers

Since the aim of the study was to investigate the attitudes of Chinese, Japanese and Korean university students towards Asian varieties of English, three of the English speech varieties chosen for evaluation were from China, Japan and Korea (from the Expanding Circle). Two other speech varieties were also selected because it was of particular interest to include Outer Circle varieties as a comparison with Expanding Circle speech varieties (and following previous research – see Chapter 3.1). Therefore, it was decided to include speech varieties from Hong Kong and India

(from the Outer Circle). As a result, there were five speech recordings in total. The decision to incorporate only one speech sample from each variety was made to avoid *listener fatigue*. However, there are limitations to using only one speaker of each variety; in particular, it assumes homogeneity within a speech community (McKenzie, 2010). Since only one speaker of each country could be selected for the study, an effort was made to include speakers that were deemed to be most ‘representative’ of an English speaker from each of the selected countries. In order to ensure representativeness, a number of speech recordings were made for each target speech community. Once recorded, the speech samples of similar length were played to members of the same speech community as the speakers, for example the Chinese speech samples were played to Chinese informants, the Japanese speech samples to Japanese informants, and so on. These informants were then asked to vote for which speaker they believed to be most representative of the speaker variety. The recordings of each speech variety that received the most votes were then selected for use in the final research instrument.

4.7.4 Background of the speakers

A number of measures were taken in order to reduce evaluations of paralinguistic differences such as voice quality, speech style and content of the speech. Firstly, care was taken to keep gender, age, and education level of the speakers similar. All of the speakers selected were therefore female, the age range of the speakers was within 7 years difference (19-26 years old), and all speakers were studying in tertiary education with over 6 years of studying the English language, and IELTS level 5.5 or above. The content of the speech was controlled by using a map task as the speech stimulus, with which speakers were asked to give directions using identical symbols as landmarks (see Section 4.7.1 for a detailed description).

The following section provides details of each speaker and each recording (including a transcription).

4.7.5 The selected speakers

This section provides a transcript of the selected speech samples, categorised by country of origin, along with the background information of each selected speaker. The transcriptions were

completed using methods adapted from the Jefferson system (Jefferson, 2004). A key is provided in Table 4 to aid the reader in interpretation of speech samples.

Table 4: Transcription key

(0.5)	Pause (tenths of a second) e.g. turn (0.5) left
(.)	Micropause – hearable but not readily measurable (< 2/10ths)
.	Falling intonation
?	Rising intonation
ˆ	Stronger rise than , but weaker than ?
: / ::	Elongated sound (double colon indicates further elongation)
-	Indicates a cut-off of a sound or self-interruption
<u>word</u>	Underlining indicates some sort of stress or emphasis (loudness/higher pitch)
<u>WOrd</u>	Capitals used for especially loud sounds
° / °°	Degree symbol indicates markedly quiet or softer sounds (double symbol indicates particularly quite or soft sounds)
Hh (hh) .hh	Hh aspiration (hh) aspiration within a word boundary .hh inhalation
(Word)	Indicates a word that transcriber is unsure of

Speaker A

Country of origin: Japan (Tokyo, East Japan)
Gender: Female
Age: 19
Education: Teikyo University/Teikyo University Durham
Programme: English
Arrived in UK: April 2012 (3 months)
Comments about English ability: n/a
<p>Transcription of speech sample:</p> <p>go strai:ght (0.4) and turn left (0.7) and turn right. (0.3) you_ɿ can see (.) hospital on you::r (.) right hand. .hh and tur::n (.) right? (1.1) you_ɿ can see factory o:n you::r left_ɿ hand. .hh and go strai:ght_ɿ (0.9) a::nd (0.8) you_ɿ can, see (0.5) volcano_ɿ (0.8) o:n you:r left hand_ɿ (0.3) a:nd turn left_ɿ (1.2) and you_ɿ can see the bri:dge (0.3) and (1.2) across_ɿ the, river_ɿ (0.8) a:nd (0.5) turn left_ɿ (0.7) go strai:ght (0.9) you_ɿ can see:: (1.5) moun_ɿtain, (.) on you:r, right_ɿ hand_ɿ ((bang)) and go strai:ght_ɿ (0.9) you_ɿ can see: (.) church_ɿ (.) on you::r left (0.5) a- on your right_ɿ hand_ɿ (0.5) and turn_ɿ (0.3) right_ɿ (0.9) and go strai:ght, (.) you can see the thea_ɿtre.</p>
Length: 1m 04
Words/min = 84.4

Notable features of speech: insertion of epenthetic vowels after consonants e.g. straight > sutoraight; no opposition for r/l i.e. initial consonant in ‘left’ and ‘right’ similar in pronunciation; syllable timing (rather than stress timing) e.g. syllables in ‘hospital’ given same weighting; consonant /v/ pronounced closer to /b/ e.g. ‘bolcano’; /th/ sound pronounced as /s/ e.g. theatre > seatre; flat pronunciation of /ae/ vowel, even in cases where usually unstressed (with schwa pronunciation) e.g. ‘hospitAL’ > ‘hospital’, ‘river’ > ‘libbaa’; ‘theatre’ > ‘theataa’; no inflection for plural nouns e.g. ‘mountains’ > ‘mountain’; short /I/ sound pronounced as longer ‘bridge’ > ‘bri:dge’

Speaker B

Country of origin: India (Jaipur, Rajasthan, North India)
Gender: Female
Age: 25
Education: Rajasthan University/Northumbria University
Programme: Bachelors in Incidental Surgery
Arrived in UK: January 2012 (7 months)
Comments about English ability: I think I am confident in English but I don't put much emphasis on accent to match with British accent. But I think that is fine.
<p>Transcription of speech sample:</p> <p>from the start you have to go straight .hh and then you have to take a left (.) towards the:: hospital. .hh when you reach the hospital you have to take (.) a right, [...] kind of a roundabout h like you have to- (.) take a roundabout to a- [...] across the hospital .hh like take a right and then:: take another right which will bring you to a straight road and if you walk straight you'll [...] on your left side you'll find a industry or a factory and you just have to move straight move straight straight straight straight and a- and a roundabout will come which will (enclose) a volcano and after covering the roundabout you'll take a right a:nd the bridge will come you'll cr- cross the bridge to walk straight straight straight and again you'll take left- the road will turn to left after taking a left you'll find a mountain on your right hand side again you have to take a roundabout- like roundabout across the mountains a:nd you:'ll walk straight straight straight on your right hand side there will be a church you have to again a right walk straight an::d towards the left hand side you'll find a theatre</p>
Length: 1m 06
Words/min = 182.7

Notable features of speech: 'th' and 't' sounds pronounced closer to > 'd' e.g. 'the' > 'de', 'towards' > 'dowards'; 'v' sound pronounced closer to 'w' e.g. 'volcano' > 'wolcano'

Speaker C

Country of origin: China (Mainland, Shāngxī, North China)
Gender: Female
Age: 25
Education: Beijing Senior Secretary College/Northumbria University
Programme: English Foundation Course
Arrived in the UK: June 2012 (1 month)
Comments about English ability: British English
<p>Transcription of speech sample:</p> <p>go straight and turn left (0.4) and (.) go straight (0.4) turn right (0.3) you will see a hospital on your right hand. (.) and then go (.) along and turn right_ɹ there is a: factory. (.) on you:ɹ (.) left hand and (.) go straight (.) and you will see a: volcano on your left (.) hand and (.) go (.) along and (.) turn right (.) go across a bridge (0.3) and go on (.) and there are some mountains on your (.) r- right hand and (.) go along there is a church on your right hand and then turn right and go straight and then turn left and there is a theatre</p> <p>Length: 0m 46</p>
Words/min = 126.7

Notable features of speech: rising/falling contour for some vowels; insertion of epenthetic vowel following final consonants, in particular after 'd' e.g. 'and' > 'anduh';

Speaker D

Country of origin: Korea (Jeonju, South West Korea)
Gender: Female
Age: 26
Education: Cheonbuk National University/International House Newcastle
Programme: English (IELTS)
Arrived in the UK: November 2011 (8 months)
Comments about English ability: I want to change my English accent
Transcription of speech sample: at, first, (.) you: (1.1) have, to turn _l (0.5) left _l (1.1) and go _l straight, .hh when, you:: see: the (0.4) hospital? (0.7) turn: (0.7) right _l (.) the cor _l ner (0.4) a:nd go through, the (.) (walking?) (0.4) a::nd after then you can see (0.4) factory? (1.1) a::nd just, go, (0.9) just go the way? (0.4) a:nd you can see, volca?no _l (1.5) in the corner _l (0.4) a:nd just turn, (0.8) left. (1.1) a:nd _l you can see the bridge? (.) on the river? (.) and just (.) across the bridge? (0.3) a::nd (1.8) after the: (.) finish the:: bridge _l (0.5) just turn (0.9) left? a:nd (.) around _l the: range of mountain? (0.3) and go through- (0.6) keep going _l (0.5) a::nd (0.6) after you can see church? (0.4) and just turn (0.4) right? (0.8) and you can see (a)- (1.0) theatre. Length: 1m 08
Words/min = 88.2

Notable features of speech: no opposition between r/l e.g. initial consonant in 'right' and 'left' sound similar, and closer to /r/; /f/ pronounced as /b/ e.g. left > lept, factory > pactory, /after/ > /apter/; Occasional epenthetic vowel after final consonants: /just/ > /justuh/, /bridge/ > /bridge-ji/; no inflection for plural nouns e.g. 'mountains' > 'mountain'; Frequent rises in intonation (sounds questioning).

Speaker E

Country of origin: China (Hong Kong, South China)
Gender: Female
Age: 22
Education: Tsung Tsin Christian Academy/Northumbria University
Programme: unknown
Arrived in the UK: September 2011 (8 months)
Comments about English ability: Need to improve the accent, to be more accurate
Transcription of speech sample: go straight (.) an::d turn (0.5) your <u>lef</u> thand si:de (0.7) and keep go <u>ing</u> and (0.6) go straight forward (1.0) an:d you: see: (0.4) a <u>hos</u> pital (0.4) in you:r (.) right.hand. side. (0.9) keep (0.3) for,ward a:n:d (0.6) you: see: (.) a <u>facto</u> ry (0.3) in you:r left _h hand si:de (0.9) a:n:d (.) keep going: then you will see a: (0.5) volca: no: in your. (0.5) left _h hand side (0.8) <u>afte</u> r that (.) you will see: (.) a (0.3) bridge? (0.5) then you can just (.) pass _h through (0.4) the bridge a:n:d (0.3) turn _h left _h (0.8) a:n:d keep your way: an:d (0.6) and you will° see a: (0.8) a <u>mountain</u> : (0.4) in your (0.6) righthand, si:de (0.7) the:n (.) keep go <u>ing</u> : (0.3) an:d (0.7) afte:r- after that you will see a church in you:r <u>right</u> hand side (0.4) the:n (0.5) turn _h to your <u>right</u> hand, side (0.7) f- few more steps you will see: (0.5) a (0.3) <u>theatre</u> (0.5) in front of you Length: 1m 03
Words/min = 112.4

Notable features of speech: tendency to omit final consonant sounds e.g. ‘left hand side’ > ‘lef han si’, ‘forward’ > ‘forwar’, ; ‘th’ > ‘f’ e.g. ‘through’ > ‘frough’; shortening of elongated/stressed syllables /straigh_t/ > /straight/; contour rise/fall for some vowels e.g. in ‘will’

4.7.6 The selection of evaluative traits for the semantic differential scale

For use of traits for semantic differential scales (see Section 4.4.1.2 for a detailed explanation), language attitude studies have often replicated the traits used in previous research (e.g. Hiraga, 2005). However, it is argued that the evaluative criteria of different groups may be culturally-specific. For example, in the UK, historically a country divided by a class system, adjectives such as ‘posh’ or ‘common’ may be used to describe a speaker of English, whereas in other countries, evaluations based on class may not be salient to the judges. As a result, the author of the present study agrees with Osgood (1964: 175), who stated that “each language/culture group must

determine its own scales”. Since the language/culture groups in this instance numbered more than one (China, Japan, Korea), it was necessary to find adjectives used for evaluating speakers common to all three groups. To achieve this, in a pilot study in the North East of England, informants similar to the target population sample (i.e. Chinese, Japanese and Korean university students) were asked to listen to the five speech recordings, and write down three adjectives to describe each speaker. Once completed, informants were asked to provide antonyms for each of the adjectives they had written, thus allowing the researcher to make more accurate judgements regarding the valence of the adjectives, and to aid in choosing suitable bipolar adjective pairings.

Adjectives were entered into a spreadsheet and the frequency was calculated for each individual adjective elicited, in addition to the frequency of pairings e.g. friendly and unfriendly. Traits and bi-polar adjective pairings were selected based on the frequency of occurrence (taking into account similarity in meaning between adjectives). The traits selected for the study, based upon the most commonly elicited adjectives and bipolar pairings across all three national groups, were: *confident/unconfident; friendly/unfriendly; cute/not cute; young/old; clear/unclear; tired/energetic; happy/unhappy* (see Figure 2).

The traits on the evaluative scale were ordered randomly. In order to limit left-right bias (i.e. when subjects tend to lean one way to answer questions on a scale, choosing more on the left or right due to order/wording of the questions), the bi-polar opposites of the adjectives selected were also positioned in a randomised fashion (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: the semantic differential scale used in the verbal-guise experiment

confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unconfident
unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	friendly
cute	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not cute
young	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	old
clear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unclear
tired	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	energetic
happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unhappy

4.8 The pilot study

It is extremely important to pilot a research instrument to ensure the high quality (in terms of reliability and validity) of the outcomes of the specific context. A pilot study was conducted in the North East of England to ascertain whether there were any issues of ambiguity and/or potential problems with analysing the data using analytical software package SPSS (version 20). The speech evaluation experiment was piloted using international students of Chinese, Japanese and Korean nationality, providing an opportunity to post-evaluate the survey, its user-friendliness, and to identify any issues in bias, ambiguity, appropriateness, and length of time of the procedure.

After completion of the survey, pilot informants were asked to answer the following questions regarding clarity of the survey questions:

- i. *Which, if any, items on the survey were unclear to you? Please explain.*
- ii. *Which, if any, items did you find difficult to answer? Please explain.*
- iii. *Did you feel that the scale used (1-7) adequately allowed you to express your opinion? If not, please explain.*
- iv. *Is the survey of suitable length?*

Please provide any additional comments that you would wish to make.

The pilot study was vital in the final design of the research experiment(s). For the speech evaluation experiment (parts one and two), pilot informants seemed to have very little difficulty in understanding the instructions and completing the evaluative scale. An initial concern with the speech evaluation experiment was the timescale, where informants would be required to listen to each of the five speaker recordings (roughly one minute in length), and given further time (one minute) to complete the evaluative scale accordingly. The pilot study highlighted that the additional time for completing the scales was unnecessary, since pilot informants were able to complete the scale while the recording was playing. As mentioned previously (see Section 4.4.2), it was deemed

important to keep the identification task separate from the speech evaluation task to avoid informants explicitly focusing upon identifying the speakers' countries of origin during the evaluation task. As a result, recordings were repeated to allow for informants to complete the identification task. Initial concerns again involved the timescale, and whether the recordings would be repeated in their entirety, or shortened. However, since the speech stimulus was designed to elicit a broad range of phonological features from the speakers (and since it is unknown which features of speech may be necessary for informants to identify the speakers), it was decided that, in order for the experiment to remain consistent, recordings would be repeated in full. The pilot study, thus, allowed the experiment to be analysed for suitability of the time limit given, a time limit which, after discussions with pilot informants, proved to be reasonable.

The pilot study was particularly useful in learning about the adapted perceptual dialectology experiment (see Section 4.4.3 for a detailed explanation). Since the study aimed to investigate any possible effect of explicit attitudes upon implicit attitudes (i.e. speech evaluations), it was important for the present study to measure descriptive labels towards each national group. As previously mentioned (see Section 2.4.1), it is widely believed that language attitudes reflect social conventions, where listening to a language or language variety acts as a trigger which evokes attitudes i.e. prejudice or stereotypes towards members of the perceived speech community (Bohner & Wänke, 2002). Map tasks presented in perceptual dialectology experiments had proved not only to elicit responses that were descriptive but also often strongly attitudinal (Niedzielski & Preston, 2000). In addition, perceptual dialectology experiments conducted in the USA (ibid) often elicited descriptions of features of speech, such as certain vocabulary and phonology (i.e. linguistic stereotypes – see Section 2.2.2) believed to characteristic of speakers from different regions. It was felt beneficial to the present study to gain knowledge regarding informants' beliefs about features of speech of speakers from the three countries in order to compare these beliefs with informants' ability to correctly identify the country of origin of the speakers, measured in the identification task. Thus, the main aim of the present study was to adapt a perceptual dialectology methodology, focusing on directly eliciting attitudinal (stereotyped) responses from informants about Chinese,

Japanese and Korean national groups, and beliefs about features of speech (linguistic stereotypes) of speakers from each country.

The adapted perceptual dialectology experiment included a blank map of East Asia, which only included the outlines of China, Japan and Korea. The rationale behind using a map task was to provide cues for the three countries visually rather than simply asking about the countries, in the hope that attitudinal responses would be elicited more readily. Informants were asked to label each country (to aid in accurate interpretation of the descriptions), and then asked: *'Imagine a person from each country. What is that person like? Write as many words as you can to describe that person'*.

The pilot study demonstrated, however, that the pilot informants had considerable difficulty understanding the task, with many imagining a specific fictional character, or a well-known celebrity and describing them in detail, and not providing the information that the researcher sought. It was thus necessary to adapt the wording of the question in order to elicit the required information from each informant. After a number of amendments and pilot tests, it appeared that splitting the question into two was more effective, asking informants two distinct direct questions in order to reduce misunderstanding. The two questions were:

- i. *describe the personality of someone from each country*
- ii. *describe the way people from that country speak English*

The pilot study indicated that both of these questions elicited the information that could be used to answer the research questions, since pilot informants had used adjectives (some descriptive, some attitudinal) in question (i), and were specific in their descriptions of features of speech they believed were present in the speakers' English speech in question (ii). Various time limits were trialled for the adapted perceptual dialectology experiment. Although the task took pilot informants on average 7-8 minutes, it was decided that 10 minutes to complete the experiment was more realistic, in consideration of potentially lower levels of target informants in comparison to the pilot

informants (who were living and studying in the UK), and accounting for possible time required for the use of a dictionary where needed.

Pilot informants also commented that the remaining items on the survey were clear, easy to understand and execute, and that, at roughly 25-30 minutes in length, the timescale offered for the survey was suitable. In addition, pilot informants confirmed that they felt that the evaluation scale adequately allowed the informants to express their attitudes towards the speakers.

4.9 Implementation procedure

The data was collected over a three month period between September 2012 and December 2012 at universities in China, Japan and Korea (for a detailed breakdown of the informants see Section 4.3). The research instrument was divided into four sections (see Section 4.4 for more information on each part of the research instrument). Part I and part II were designed for use with recorded speech samples, where part I would require informants to rate the speech they heard based on set traits (see Section 4.7.6 for design of the evaluative scale). Part II then asked informants to identify the country of origin of each speech sample (see Section 4.4.2). Part III required informants to describe a person from each of Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups, in addition to describing the way in which a person from the three national groups spoke English. Part IV asked informants to complete some background information about themselves and their education: age, gender, length of time studying English, course of study and whether they were undergraduates or postgraduates. Each recording was roughly one minute in length (see Section 4.7.5 for more details). Since there were five recordings of English speech provided (China, Hong Kong, India, Japan, Korea), and taking into account the allotted time to consider and complete the questions, the full study was estimated at 25-30 minutes in length.

In order to avoid any influence of the order speaker recordings were played upon speaker evaluations, five sets of recordings were prepared, each with a different running order. Each group that completed the survey would be played a different set, which was marked by the researcher for

the purpose of accurate data entry at a later stage. The order of each set of recordings is presented in Table 5 for the reader's information.

Table 5: Speaker recording order of play according to set

SetV/Position>	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
1	JP	IN	CN	KR	HK
2	CN	KR	JP	HK	IN
3	KR	HK	IN	CN	JP
4	IN	CN	KR	JP	HK
5	HK	JP	CN	IN	KR

Informants were provided with the 5 page survey, which was printed on one side and placed face-down in front of each informant, with the researcher indicating when each sheet could be turned over and completed. In order to keep informants from learning information about the survey that may have affected their evaluations (i.e. that they would be asked to identify the country of origin of speakers, or that they would be asked to describe Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups), the informants were informed not to turn each sheet over until they were instructed to do so.

Part I: The verbal-guise experiment

Informants were provided with a hand-out including the semantic differential scale (see Section 4.4.1) and the variety identification item (see Section 4.4.2). Informants were given one minute to read the instructions and adjectives included in the scale to ensure they understood the task and the items included in the task.

Informants then were asked to listen to each speech recording (roughly one minute in length), and complete the semantic differential scale for each speech recording (of which there were five – see Section 4.4.1).

Part II: The identification task

Informants were played each speech recording in their entirety once more, and asked to identify which country the speaker originated from. It was emphasised to students before they began that

the speakers could be from anywhere in the world, and that they could all be from the same country or from different countries.

Part III: Adapted perceptual dialectology experiment

Informants were asked to read the instructions for one minute to ensure that they understood the task, and the researcher gave additional instructions to further aid in informants' understanding of the task. In order to reduce anxiety about completing a writing task in English, it was emphasised that this was not a test of English ability, that grammatical accuracy was not a concern (and one-word descriptions were therefore encouraged, which would also help with the categorising of adjectives and frequency counts during analysis), and that the use of a dictionary (paper or electronic) was permitted. Informants were also reminded that the survey was completely anonymous, and therefore that they could feel free to write anything they wish. Informants were given ten minutes to complete the task.

Part IV: Background information

Informants were asked to complete the provided background information sheet (age, gender, course of study, length of study of English language), and were given five minutes to do so.

Finally, paper clips were provided to informants to attach separate survey items together, and the completed surveys were collected. Once collected, the researcher thanked the informants, and gave a more detailed explanation of the research. A sheet outlining the research aims was distributed along with a consent form which detailed how the data collected would be used. It was emphasised to the informants that if, now more informed about the study, they would like to withdraw from participating in the study, they could do so, or if they felt uncomfortable with participating at a later date after reading the research information sheet, they could contact the researcher on the provided email address, quoting their survey number and ask to be withdrawn.

This chapter has outlined the aims of the research, and the methodology chosen to achieve the research aims. The rationale behind the choice of methodology was explained, in addition to a detailed account of the design of the research instrument. The following chapter will present the results of the study, analysis of the data and a preliminary discussion of the results.

Chapter 5: Results and Preliminary Discussion

Overview

Chapter 4 outlined the rationale for the research methodology employed in the present study, a description of the experiments and design of the research instrument, and procedure for implementing the survey.

This chapter presents the results of the study and offers preliminary discussion, drawing comparisons with relevant language attitude research (see Chapter 3). This chapter is divided into three distinct sections. Part one presents the descriptive statistics for the survey, commencing with a breakdown of informants, and continues with the answers to the survey questions, which constitute the independent variables.

Part two outlines the results for the speech experiment and discusses the findings with reference to previous research. Part two is further divided into three sub-sections: the first sub-section presents the results of the speaker evaluations, and the remaining two sub-sections present the inferential statistics i.e. the main effects of independent variables upon speaker evaluation in addition to any interaction effects.

Part three outlines the comments given by informants for the explicit attitude experiment, including the social stereotypes towards each national group, and the linguistic stereotypes of English speakers from China, Japan and Korea. The comments given are quantified and analysed in respect to speaker evaluations.

5.1 Part One: Descriptive Statistics

As a reminder to the reader Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants were asked to listen to and rate five speakers of English according to a pre-determined list of traits (see Section 4.4.1 for more details). The five speakers of English provided as speech stimulus for the experiment are presented below, along with the abbreviations that will be used to refer to each speaker in this chapter. For a more detailed breakdown of the speakers see Section 4.7.3.

Table 6: Five speakers of English (and abbreviations) provided as speech stimuli for the present study

Mainland Chinese speaker of English	CN
Hong Kong Chinese speaker of English	HK
Indian speaker of English	IN
Japanese speaker of English	JP
(South) Korean speaker of English	KR

The abbreviations in Table 6 will be used exclusively to discuss the speakers presented in the present study. Any reference to the informant groups and/or informants/speakers in previous studies will be written in full.

5.1.1 Breakdown of informants

In order to provide the reader with the background of the informants surveyed in the present study, a breakdown of the informants' background information is presented below, focusing on the number of informants, their nationalities, the university which they attend, and the gender of the informants. The number of informants surveyed and their respective nationality is important in reflecting how the proportions of each of the Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups are represented as part of the whole sample, in order to provide a comparison of implicit and explicit attitudes outlined in research questions one, two and three (see Section 4.2). The nationality and

gender of the informants is also important in analysing whether these background variables have an effect upon informants' evaluations of the speakers (see research question four, Section 4.2).

The informants were all university students between the ages of 18 and 34, studying a variety of courses, all of which included an element of English language tuition (see Section 4.3.2 for a detailed breakdown of informant age and course of study). As a reminder to the reader, Table 7 presents the number of informants whose surveys were included in the final data analysis (after a total of 46 outliers and incomplete responses were discarded).

Table 7: Breakdown of informant numbers according to institution and location

Nationality	University	No. of informants	Total
China	Xi'an Jiaotong Liverpool University	83	172
	University of Nottingham Ningbo China	89	
Japan	Kansai University	158	203
	Aoyama Gakuin University	45	
Korea	Hongik University	91	179
	Gachon University	88	
Total (N)			554

5.1.2 Gender

For the purposes of the study, gender was split into two nominal categories (male/female). The ratio of male to female for the entire informant group was relatively equal, with 55.6% female and 44.4% male informants. Table 8 outlines the number of overall male and female informants and includes the gender ratio according to the nationality of the informants.

Table 8: Breakdown of informant numbers according to gender and nationality

Nationality	Male	Female	Total	<i>% of informant sample (rounded to one decimal place)</i>
China	67	105	172	<i>61.0% female</i>
Korea	89	90	179	<i>50.3% female</i>
Japan	90	113	203	<i>55.7% female</i>
Total (N)	246	308	554	<i>55.6% female</i>

Table 8 highlights the relatively equal distribution of male and female informants in each country in which the survey was conducted. The number of informants according to gender is useful in answering research question four (see Section 4.2), which investigates the possible effects of background variables (including gender) upon informants' evaluations of the speaker (see Section 5.2.2.2)

5.1.3 Speaker Identification

Ability to identify speakers

In part two of the survey, the informants were required to listen to the five speech recordings and identify the country of origin of each speaker (for the survey procedure see Section 4.9). As highlighted in Chapter 4, the inclusion of an identification task aids in gaining a more in-depth understanding of who informants believed they are evaluating, thus providing more detailed data for analysis and accurate interpretation of results (see McKenzie, 2010; Yook & Lindemann, 2013). Research question five (see Section 4.2) aims to investigate the extent (if at all) to which patterns of identification or misidentification may affect evaluation of the speakers. Identification rates may also provide more insight into why attitudes may differ towards the speakers (if at all).

For the purpose of data analyses, scores were calculated for each informant according to their ability to correctly identify the country of origin of the speakers. It is felt beneficial to remind the reader that the survey item was an open-ended question, and did not provide a pre-determined list of countries for informants to choose from. It is for this reason that results may seem lower in

comparison with other studies. Table 9 presents the number of speakers who were identified correctly.

Table 9: Number of speakers that informants were able to correctly identify

Number of speakers correctly identified	Number of informants	<i>% of informant sample (rounded to one decimal place)</i>
0	42	7.6%
1	243	43.9%
2	169	30.5%
3	63	11.4%
4	14	2.5%
5	2	0.4%
Total (N)	554	

Table 9 shows that the majority of the informants ($n = 243$, 43.9%) could only correctly identify the country of origin of one speaker, with a sizable number of the informants able to identify the country of origin of two speakers ($n = 169$, 30.5%). The results suggest that identification of the speakers presented in the study was challenging for the informants, consistent with previous language attitude studies of a similar nature which demonstrated that it was generally easier to categorise speakers as native speakers of English, or non-native speakers of English, but further categorisation was more difficult, especially for non-native speakers of English (Chiba, Matusuura & Yamamoto, 1995; Kim, 2007; McKenzie, 2010; Rivers, 2011; Zhang, 2011). To further investigate the ability to identify speakers, the identification rate of each speaker is presented below.

Identification rate of each speaker

To further investigate whether identification rates have an effect on the speaker evaluations gathered from part 1 of the survey (see research question five, Section 4.2), it is necessary to group the identification rates into categories of correct or incorrect.

Table 10 presents the identification rate for each speaker. The identification rate is presented in ascending order of successful identification from right to left. Correct responses are shaded.

Table 10: Identification rate of each speaker

Identification % (n)	Speaker				
	JP	CN	KR	HK	IN
Correct	62.5% (n = 346)	34.5 (191)	23.3 (157)	22.7 (126)	7.4 (41)
Incorrect	36.3 (201)	63.5 (352)	70.4 (390)	76 (421)	91.7 (508)
Don't know	1.3 (7)	2 (11)	1.3 (7)	1.3 (7)	.9 (5)
Total	100 (554)	100 (554)	100 (554)	100 (554)	100 (554)

The results shown in Table 10 indicate that only the JP speaker was identified more correctly by the majority of informants. In addition, the successful identification rate of the IN speaker was particularly low (7.4%). In general, the CN, KR and HK speakers were relatively difficult to correctly identify.

Table 10, however, presents only the overall identification rates for the entire informant sample. Since it has been shown in previous research that familiarity with a speaker may affect speaker evaluation (Dalton-Puffer et al, 1997; Jarvella et al, 2001; Zhang & Hu, 2008), it was felt important to consider the identification rates for each speaker according to the nationality of the informants (presented in Table 11). The aim of analysing the identification rates per speaker according the nationality of the informants is to further inform possible reasons for differences in evaluation of the speakers, which are discussed in more depth in Section 5.2. For the ease of interpretation, the identification rate of the speakers who share the same national group as the informants is highlighted in a corresponding colour.

Identification for each speaker according to nationality of informants

Table 11: Identification rate for each speaker according to nationality of informants

Informant Nationality	Recognition % (n)	Speaker				
		JP	CN	KR	HK*	IN
Chinese	Correct	35.5% (n = 61)	83.1 (143)	11.0 (19)	33.1 (57)	11.6 (20)
	Incorrect	63.4 (109)	16.9 (29)	87.8 (151)	66.3 (114)	87.2 (150)
	Don't know	1.2 (2)	0.0 (0)	1.2 (2)	.6 (1)	1.2 (2)
	Total (n = 172)	100 (172)	100 (172)	100 (172)	100 (172)	100 (172)
Japanese	Correct	93.6 (190)	7.4 (15)	12.3 (25)	14.8 (30)	3.4 (7)
	Incorrect	5.9 (12)	90.1 (183)	86.2 (175)	84.2 (171)	95.6 (194)
	Don't know	.5 (1)	2.5 (5)	1.5 (3)	1.0 (2)	1.0 (2)
	Total (n = 179)	100 (203)	100 (203)	100 (203)	100 (203)	100 (203)
Korean	Correct	53.1 (95)	18.4 (33)	63.1 (113)	21.8 (39)	7.8 (14)
	Incorrect	44.7 (80)	78.2 (140)	35.8 (64)	66.3 (114)	91.6 (164)
	Don't know	2.2 (4)	3.4 (6)	1.1 (2)	2.2 (4)	.6 (1)
	Total (n = 203)	100 (179)	100 (179)	100 (179)	100 (179)	100 (179)

*nationality of HK speaker was considered correct if informants answered 'China' as country of origin

Table 11 aids in the understanding of the overall identification rates in Table 9. The following paragraphs will discuss the main observations of the identification rate according to the nationality of the informants with respect to findings of previous studies.

Identification rate of own nationality group members

It is evident from the results that there was a high correct identification rate for the speakers who shared the same nationality as the informants (highlighted in colour above): Chinese 83.1%;

Japanese 93.6%; Korean 63.1%. The findings are consistent with language attitude studies that have included an identification task, which also show that identification of a speaker from an informant's own speech group (in this case, by nationality) is more accurate than a speaker from outside the speech group (McKenzie, 2008b, 2010; Kim, 2007; Yook & Lindemann, 2013; Zhang, 2011).

In fact, identification rates among Japanese informants for a "heavily accented" Japanese speaker of English in McKenzie's (2008b, 2010) study (90.1%, N = 558) were very similar to the Japanese informants' identification rates of the JP speaker found in the present study (93.6%, N = 554). Similarly, Korean informants' identification rates for Korean speakers of English in Kim's (2007) study (55.8%, N = 45), and Yook & Lindemann's (2013) study (63%, N = 60) were mirrored by the Korean informants in the present study (63.1%, N = 554). A Chinese speaker in Zhang's (2011) study was correctly identified by all Chinese informants that participated in the study (100%, N = 44), whereas the rate was slightly lower but remained relatively high in the present study (83.1%).

From the identification rates shown in Tables 10 and 11, a number of observations were made, which are presented and discussed in the sub-sections below.

Identification rate of the Japanese speaker

The JP speaker was the most correctly identified, with the Japanese informants demonstrating the most familiarity, followed by a high identification rate by the Korean informants (53.1%) and a moderate recognition rate by the Chinese informants (35.5%). This relatively high identification rate for the JP speaker among the Chinese and Korean informants accounted for nearly half (28%, n = 156) of the overall 62.5% (n = 346) that could correctly identify the JP speaker. Although studies in Japan have shown that the ability of Japanese informants to identify a Japanese speaker of English is often high (Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto, 1995; McKenzie, 2008b, 2010; Rivers, 2011), there are no previous studies known to the author of the present study that have investigated identification rates of Japanese speakers among Chinese or Korean speakers, so comparisons were not possible.

That said, one possible explanation for the relatively high rate of identification for the JP speaker among Korean informants may be an indirect result of the Japanese occupation of the Korean

peninsula from 1910 to 1945 (see Chapter 1). English words nativised into Japanese were introduced to Koreans along with the Japanese language, which was the sole language of instruction in Korean public schools from 1930. The pronunciation of English words in Japanese was influenced by Japanese phonology, which was then taught to Koreans with the Japanese language during the occupation (see Kang *et al.*, 2008 for similarities and differences between English, Japanese and Korean pronunciation). While pronunciation of many of the nativised English words transmitted through the Japanese language have since been largely replaced by Korean pronunciation, a number of senior citizens retained the Japanese style pronunciation, resulting in a stigmatised Korean-Japanese pronunciation for English nativised words. Research has also suggested that some instances of Japanese-style pronunciation of English nativised words are more resistant to change over time than others (Kang *et al.*, 2008). Furthermore, many modern English nativised words in Korean, although not of the colonial-era, may still be marked with Japanese phonology (Harkness, 2012). An awareness of the stigmatised Korean-Japanese pronunciation may result in greater familiarity with Japanese phonology and therefore a higher identification rate for the JP speaker of English among Korean informants. However, if, as Kang *et al.* (2008) claim, one reason for the resistance (or lack of) of phonological change is the degree of confidence that Korean speakers have about the “correct” direct-English pronunciation versus the Japanese-style English pronunciation i.e. the sound from English “loan words” adapted into the Korean language directly through English rather than through the Japanese language, then Korean speakers may not be aware of some of the differences between direct-English pronunciation and the pronunciation of Japanese-style English nativised words. Similarly, Harkness claims that Korean speakers evaluate variation in the pronunciation and spelling of English loan words (Harkness, 2012) in two ways: the first aims to discern (and eradicate) marked Japanese forms, which would involve an awareness of Japanese phonology. The second aims to discern the Japanese-phonology forms, not because of awareness that they are Japanese in origin, but because they are marked as old-fashioned and/or spoken as such in non-standard/rural varieties of Korean. In the case of the latter, Korean listeners may distinguish Japanese forms of nativised English in Korean merely as old-fashioned or incorrect forms rather than identify them as Japanese forms. If this is the case, the high identification rate of the JP speaker among Koreans may be a result of media exposure and/or

personal interaction/observation with Japanese tourists in Korea, who are the most frequent visitors to Korea of any nationality (see KTO). Informal conversations with the Korean informants after completion of the study revealed that many of the Korean informants were able to identify the JP speaker as Japanese, but could not recall instances when they had heard a Japanese person speaking English.

Alternatively, high evaluation rates for the JP speaker among the Korean informants may indicate a higher awareness of features of speech of the Japanese language, which might have influenced the JP speakers' English speech. For example, a lack of central vowels in Japanese phonology may result in a more distinctive pronunciation in English (e.g. flat /æ/ in place of unstressed schwa /ə/ sounds). Furthermore, since vowels are required to follow consonants in the Japanese language, this may lead to the addition of an epenthetic vowel after English consonants. Awareness of Japanese phonological features such as those mentioned may therefore have led to a higher identification rate for the JP speaker among the Korean informants. Indeed, comments provided by the Korean informants in the direct attitude experiment (see Section 5.3.3) described English as spoken by Japanese speakers as similar to spoken Japanese. Some instances include: *'really does not sound like English, rather like Japanese'* (informant #207); *'they speak English with their own language's pronunciation'* (#218); *'Japan's pronunciation is not clear (Japanese English)'* (#257); *'accent is strong'* (#268); *'they cannot particularly pronounce because of their mother tongue'* (#282); *'sounds like Japanese'* (#306). In addition, a number of Korean informants made specific reference to sounds they felt marked 'Japanese English' as distinct. The most prevalent Japanese English speech characteristic identified by the Korean informants was their perceived difficulty in pronouncing 'r' (with the Korean informants often claiming that 'r' was substituted with an 'l'). As previously mentioned above, a lack of central vowels was also commented upon: *'pronounce 'a' and 'e' very similarly'* (#286); *'er sound like 'ar''* (#320); *'their pronunciation of 'c' and 't' are very strong e.g. they say the words 'theater' like 'ttiattar''* (#348); *'speak with a few vowel'* (#271). Furthermore, difficulty with consonant clusters (i.e. the insertion of an epenthetic vowel) was also identified by the Korean informants as characteristic of Japanese English: *'they can't pronounce English exactly e.g. taxi = takusi'* (#338); *'they can't pronounce 'l' and final 'k''* (#386); *'they*

can't pronounce well (like 'c', 't', 'k')' (#305); 'they can't pronounce sounds such as 'English' or 'bags'' (#344).

Taking the identification rates for each speaker into consideration, the results presented in Table 9 that reveal that the majority of informants who could only correctly identify one or two of the speakers can perhaps be explained. Informants who could successfully identify only one speaker are more likely to have identified a speaker of their own national group, and those who were able to identify only two of the five speakers were generally more likely to have identified a speaker of their own nationality plus the JP speaker of English.

Identification rate of the Chinese, the Hong Kong, the Korean and the Indian speakers

The remainder of the speakers proved more difficult for the informants to identify, which is consistent with the findings of previous studies that identification of English speakers from outside of the Inner Circle is more challenging for non-native speakers of English. For instance, successful identification of English speakers from the Indian sub-continent (e.g. Indian English, Pakistan English, Sri Lanka English) has been demonstrated to be difficult for Japanese informants (Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto, 2005), Korean informants (Shim, 1995, in Shim, 2002) and Chinese informants (Zhang, 2011) to identify. However, over half of the Korean informants (53.5%, N = 45) in Kim's (2007) study were able to correctly identify an Indian speaker of English. Kim's (2007) study, however, asked listeners to select the country of origin of the speaker from a predetermined list, which may have confounded the identification rate.

In the present study, the KR speaker was generally found to be difficult for both the Chinese and the Japanese informants to identify (11.0%, n = 19, 12.3%, n = 25 success rate respectively). This is inconsistent, however, with a previous study (Rivers, 2011), which demonstrated that a KR speaker was easier for Japanese informants to identify (29.1%, N = 48) than other native and non-native varieties. Rivers (2011) concluded that a large immigrant community of ethnic Koreans and a boom in Korean popular culture in Japan helped to explain this higher identification rate. However, as with Kim's (2007) study, a predetermined list of countries was provided to aid

informants with the identification task, which may have affected the results, whereas the present study did not offer a list of countries to choose from, but left the question open-ended.

Although Hong Kong English has proved difficult for Japanese informants in previous studies to identify (Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto, 2005), Korean informants in Kim's (2007) study demonstrated a modest ability to identify speaker of English from Hong Kong (32.6%, N = 45) in contrast to the 21.8% (n = 39) in the present study. In the present study, it may be worth drawing the reader's attention to the higher identification rate of the HK speaker among the Chinese informants (33.1%, n = 57) in comparison to the Japanese informants (14.8%, n = 30) and the Korean informants (21.8%, n = 39), which may indicate a greater familiarity of Chinese English and Hong Kong English speakers among the Chinese informants. In fact, although not recorded as part of the main analysis (since the question of the research instrument only asked for *country of origin*), a number of the Chinese informants left additional information regarding their identification labels of the CN and HK speakers, where the country of origin of the CN speaker was often labelled as 'North China' and the HK speaker as 'South China' and/or 'Hong Kong'. These additional observations imply that Chinese informants may be adept at identifying the region of origin of Chinese speakers through their English accent. Further analysis is beyond the scope of this study, but there may be an opportunity for further future research on identification of Chinese English accents within China.

Misidentification of speakers as native speakers of English

Previous research has indicated that speaker evaluations may be based upon the perceived group membership of the speaker (Garrett, 2010), and that native speakers of English tend to be evaluated differently to non-native speakers of English, even among informants that do not speak English as a first language (Deterding, 2005; Lindemann, 2003; McKenzie, 2008b, 2010; Yook & Lindemann, 2013). Native speakers of English have generally been found to be evaluated high in terms of status/competence, whereas non-native speakers of English are generally evaluated high in terms of group solidarity/social attractiveness (see Section 2.4.3) In addition, there is evidence to suggest that listeners judge non-native speakers more favourably if they *perceive* them to be native speakers, as was the case with Danish informants when evaluating native speakers of Danish and

Danish as spoken as a second language (Jørgensen & Quist, 2001). Similar findings were demonstrated in studies by Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto (1995), and McKenzie (2008b, 2010) among Japanese informants (see Section 3.1.1). Thus, it was felt beneficial to investigate the number of informants who misidentified the speakers as native speakers of English, the data of which was used to analyse the possible effect upon speaker evaluation (see Section 5.2.2), addressing research question five (see Section 4.2) regarding possible effects identification/misidentification may have upon speaker evaluations. Scores were calculated based on how many of the five speakers the informants were misidentified as being native speakers of English. A “native speaker” of English was defined as any speaker identified to be from: the USA, Canada, the UK & Ireland, Australia or New Zealand. In addition, more detailed information regarding identification rates (with regards to individual speakers and according to the nationality of informant groups) is provided in order to add depth to the discussion presented in Section 6.5.

Table 12: Number of speakers misidentified as native speakers of English

Number of speakers misidentified as a native speaker of English	Number of informants	<i>% of informant sample (rounded to one decimal place)</i>
0	120	21.7%
1	164	29.6%
2	139	25.1%
3	77	13.9%
4	31	5.6%
5	2	0.4%
Total (N)	554	

Table 12 shows that 21.7% (n = 120) of the informant sample correctly identified all speakers as non-native speakers of English. However, the majority of informants perceived either one (n = 164, 29.6%) or two (n = 139, 25.1%), speakers to be native speakers of English. With the majority of speakers being labelled as non-native speakers of English, this finding is generally consistent with previous research, which suggests that non-native English learners can easily categorise speakers of

English as native and non-native speakers of English (Deterding, 2005; McKenzie, 2008b, 2010). There may be many factors which resulted in the misidentification of a speaker as a native speaker of English such as segmental (i.e. the pronunciation of phonemes) or suprasegmental (i.e. intonation, stress, pitch, volume) features, or the expectation by the listeners that a native speaker of English may be involved in the speech recordings.

The results shown in Table 12 are useful in addressing research question five, which investigates the extent (if any) that patterns of identification/misidentification influence attitudes towards the speakers of English presented in the study (see summary at the end of this sub-section). For statistical analyses see Section 5.2.2.4. An in-depth discussion is presented in Section 6.5.

To further investigate the figures shown in Table 12, and in order to provide an understanding into which speakers were frequently (mis)identified as native/non-native speakers, the rate in which each speaker was perceived to be a native speaker of English is presented in Table 13. Results are presented according to misidentification of speakers as native speakers of English, in ascending order from right to left. Correct responses are shaded.

Identification rate for each speaker as native/non-native speakers of English

Table 13: Rate of identification of each speaker as native or non-native speakers of English

(Mis)identification as native or non- native speaker of English % (n)	Speaker				
	IN	HK	CN	KR	JP
Native	52.9% (n = 293)	38.3 (212)	32.3 (179)	23.3 (129)	3.2 (18)
Non-native	46.2 (256)	60.8 (337)	66.1 (366)	75.8 (420)	95.8 (531)
Don't know	.9 (5)	.9 (5)	1.6 (9)	.9 (5)	.9 (5)
Total	100 (554)	100 (554)	100 (554)	100 (554)	100 (554)

Table 13 indicates that the IN speaker was misidentified by more than half (52.9%) of all informants as a native speaker of English. The remainder of the speakers were successfully categorised as non-native speakers of English by the majority of informants.

The HK speaker was also perceived to be a native speaker of English by a relatively modest proportion of informants (38.3%, $n = 212$). The CN and KR speakers were generally perceived to be non-native speakers by 66.1% ($n = 366$) and 75.8% ($n = 420$) of the overall sample respectively. The JP speaker was successfully identified as a non-native speaker of English by an overwhelming majority of informants (95.8%, $n = 531$).

Since the identification rate of speakers who shared the same nationality as the informants was high (and may therefore be a confounding factor in the figures shown in the table above), and in order to give a more in-depth insight into identification rates, it was felt beneficial to examine the rate with which the speakers were perceived to be native/non-native speakers of English according to the nationality of the informants (see Table 14). The identification rate of a speaker who shared the same national group as the informants is highlighted in a corresponding colour.

Identification rate for each speaker as native/non-native speakers of English according to the nationality of informants

Table 14: Rate of identification of each speaker as native or non-native speaker of English according to nationality of informants

Informant Nationality	Recognition %, (n)	Speaker				
		IN	HK*	CN	KR	JP
Chinese	Native	47.7% (n = 82)	35.5 (61)	8.1 (14)	33.7 (58)	4.7 (8)
	Non-native	51.2 (88)	64.0 (110)	91.9 (158)	65.7 (113)	95.3 (164)
	Don't know	1.2 (2)	.6 (1)	0.0 (0)	.6 (1)	0.0 (0)
	Total	100 (172)	100 (172)	100 (172)	100 (172)	100 (172)
Japanese	Native	75.4 (153)	40.4 (82)	47.3 (96)	31.0 (63)	3.9 (8)
	Non-native	23.6 (48)	58.6 (119)	50.7 (103)	67.5 (137)	95.6 (194)
	Don't know	1.0 (2)	1.0 (2)	2.0 (4)	1.5 (3)	.5 (1)
	Total	100 (203)	100 (203)	100 (203)	100 (203)	100 (203)
Korean	Native	32.4 (58)	38.5 (69)	38.5 (69)	4.5 (8)	1.1 (2)
	Non-native	67.0 (120)	60.3 (108)	58.7 (105)	95.0 (170)	96.6 (173)
	Don't know	.6 (1)	1.1 (2)	2.8 (5)	.6 (1)	2.2 (4)
	Total	100 (179)	100 (179)	100 (179)	100 (179)	100 (179)

*nationality of HK speaker was considered correct if informants answered 'China' as country of origin

Again, Table 14 indicates that informants were more successful in correctly labelling speakers as non-native speakers of English on hearing a speaker who shares the same nationality group as the informant (Chinese informants: 91.9%; Japanese: 95.6%; Korean 95.0%).

It is also worth noting that the successful identification of the JP speaker as a non-native speaker of English was high with all national groups (Chinese informants: 95.3%; Japanese: 95.6%; Korean: 96.6%).

The IN speaker was most often misidentified as a native speaker of English by the informants of both the Chinese and the Japanese informants, most notably by the Japanese informants (75.4%, $n = 153$), although Korean informants were less inclined to label the IN speaker's country of origin as an English native speaker country (32.4%, $n = 58$).

In addition, in general, the HK speaker, the CN speaker and the KR speaker were more difficult to categorise as native or non-native speakers of English by informants who did not share the same nationality as the speaker. This inability to categorise English speakers correctly as non-native speakers of English suggests that many of the informants may be unfamiliar with such varieties/accents of the speakers provided as speech stimuli in the speech evaluation experiment.

Previous research has suggested that a native-non-native dichotomy exists in which unfamiliar varieties of English are automatically labelled as non-native (Deterding, 2005). However, the findings of the present study do not support this claim. Firstly, only 7.4% ($n = 41$) of the informants could successfully identify the country of origin of the IN speaker (see Table 10), yet the majority of informants (52.9%, $n = 293$) labelled the speaker as a native speaker of English (see Table 13). Secondly, there were relatively low identification rates for the CN, the HK and the KR speakers among informants that did not share the same nationality as the speaker (see Table 11), yet their misidentification as native speakers of English was not uncommon (see Table 13).

Furthermore, there are claims that listeners for whom English is not their first language may “overwhelmingly think of RP and US English when they think of English, without considering other varieties at all” (Yook & Lindemann, 2013: 3). The fact that four from five of the speakers in the present study were correctly labelled as non-native speakers of English is inconsistent with this claim, and suggests that there may be a growing awareness of non-native speaker varieties of English.

Perceived region of each speaker

To further understand informants' identification processes, it was deemed beneficial to investigate the perceived origins of each speaker according to geographical region. Responses (i.e. identified countries of origin of each speaker) were categorised using the United Nations framework (United Nations, 2013, see Appendix E for a detailed list of categories). The perceived region of each speaker is presented below. For sake of brevity, only the top three geographical regions that each speaker was perceived to belong to are presented in the table. Columns are arranged according to the correct rate of identification of each speaker's geographical region, ascending from right to left. Correct responses are shaded.

Table 15: Perceived region of origin for each speaker (top 3 answers only)

		JP	KR	CN	HK	IN
Perceived region of speaker (top 3)	1	Eastern Asia 75.1% (n = 416)	Eastern Asia 46% (255)	Eastern Asia 44.6% (247)	Eastern Asia 37.4% (207)	Northern America 33.2% (184)
	2	Southern Asia 8.7% (48)	Northern Europe 11.4% (63)	Northern America 19.9% (110)	Northern America 19.5% (108)	Northern Europe 17.7% (98)
	3	South-Eastern Asia 3.1% (17)	Western Europe 10.6% (59)	Northern Europe 7.8% (43)	Northern Europe 13.7% (76)	Western Europe 14.6% (81)

Table 15 above indicates that, despite difficulties in specifically identifying the country of origin of the CN, KR and HK speakers (as shown in Table 10), the majority of informants were able to correctly identify the geographical region of origin of Eastern Asian speakers of English. In particular there was a very high success rate for identifying the JP speaker of English as from Eastern Asia (75.1%, n = 416). There were also relatively high rates for the KR (46%, n = 255) and the CN (44.6%, n = 247) speakers of English. However, the vast majority of informants failed to

identify the IN speaker of English as a speaker of English from Southern Asia, with many misidentifying the IN speaker's region of origin as from Northern America or Northern Europe.

The following table (Table 16) shows the specific perceived country of origin for each speaker. For sake of brevity, only the five most popular answers for each speaker are presented. Columns are arranged according to correct rate of identification of each speaker's country of origin, ascending from right to left. Correct responses are shaded.

Table 16: Perceived country of origin for each speaker (top 5 answers only)

		JP	CN	KR	HK	IN
Perceived country origin for each speaker (top 5) % (n)	1	Japan 63.5% (352)	China 35.2% (195)	Korea 29.7% (165)	China 23.1% (128)	USA 31.8% (176)
	2	Korea 8.7% (48)	USA 16.2% (90)	UK 10.6% (59)	UK 13.9% (77)	UK 16.6% (92)
	3	India 8.3% (46)	UK 9.4% (52)	China 9.4% (52)	USA 13.4% (74)	France 11.2% (62)
	4	China 2.7% (15)	Korea 6.1% (34)	France 8.3% (46)	Korea 10.1% (56)	India 8.3% (46)
	5	Italy 1.8% (10)	Canada 3.6% (20)	Japan 5.8% (32)	Canada 6.0% (33)	Russia 5.2% (29)

Table 16 gives a more detailed account of the perceived origin of each speaker. The majority of informants were able to correctly identify the country of origin of the JP speaker, and those who could not generally perceived the JP speaker to be from Eastern Asia (see Table 15), with the perceived countries of origin as Japan, Korea and China accounting for 74.9% (n = 415) of all responses. Japanese informants' ability to correctly identify the JP speaker only accounted for just over half (34%, n = 190) of the 63.5% that correctly identified the JP speaker (see Table 16). 17%

(n = 95) of the informants who correctly identified the JP speaker were Korean informants, and 11% (n = 61) were Chinese. Thus, not only was the JP speaker more identifiable among the three informant groups, the vast majority of informants perceived the JP speaker to be the most representative of an English speaker from Eastern Asia (see Table 15).

The KR speaker was identified correctly by 29.7% (n = 165) of the entire informant sample, however the Korean informants accounted for 21.3% (n = 113) of the 29.7% that correctly identified the speaker. The most popular answer among Japanese informants was China (14.3%, n = 29), with Korea the second most popular answer (12.8%, n = 26). However, the majority of the Chinese informants perceived the KR speaker to be from a native-speaking English country, the UK (20.9%, n = 36), with Korea as the second most popular answer (12.2%, n = 21). Despite this misidentification as a native speaker of English, 46% (n = 255) of the informant sample perceived the KR speaker of English to represent an English speaker from Eastern Asia (see Table 15).

The CN speaker was correctly identified by 35.2% (n = 191) of the entire informant sample, 26.5% (n = 143) of which is accounted for by the Chinese informants. However, the most popular answer among both the Japanese and the Korean informants indicated that the CN speaker was perceived to be a native speaker of English, with 23.2% (n = 47) and 11.3% (n = 23) of the Japanese informants perceiving the CN speaker to be from the USA or the UK respectively. Only 7.4% (n = 15) of the Japanese informants correctly identified the CN speaker as being from China. 21.2% (n = 38) of the Korean informants perceived the CN speaker to be from the USA, followed by 18.4% (n = 33) who correctly identified the speaker to be from China. Therefore, for the Japanese and the Korean informants, the CN speaker of English was not only more difficult to identify, but was also perceived by most to be a native speaker of English, in particular from the USA.

The HK speaker of English was only correctly identified by 23.1% (n = 126) of the entire informant sample. 10.5% (n = 58) is accounted for by the Chinese informants, 7% (n = 39) from Korean informants, and 5.6% (n = 31) from the Japanese informants. In fact, although the HK speaker of English was relatively difficult to identify, the most popular answer for both the Japanese and the Korean informants was that the HK speaker was from China (Japanese: 15.3%, n = 31; Korean: 21.8%, n = 39). This indicates that, for both the Japanese and the Korean informants,

the HK speaker of English was more representative of a Chinese speaker of English than the CN speaker of English, who was often misidentified as a native speaker of English.

The IN speaker of English was by far the most difficult for the informants to identify. The majority of informants misidentified the speaker to be a native speaker of English, with 31.8% (n = 176) of informants perceiving the IN speaker's country of origin to be the USA, and 16.6% (n = 92) of the informants perceiving her to be from the UK (see Table 16). This gives further insight in to the high misidentification rates of the IN speaker as a native speaker of English seen in Table 13. For a brief discussion of why the IN speaker may have been misidentified by so many informants as a native speaker of English see the summary below.

Summary of perceived country and geographical region of each speaker

In summary, the JP, KR, CN and HK speakers of English were correctly identified as non-native speakers of English by the majority of the entire informant sample, and were unanimously perceived to be from the Eastern Asia region. A closer inspection of results suggests that identification rates are artificially high due to the influence of high identification rates by informants that share the same national group as the speaker.

It is interesting to note that the CN speaker of English was perceived to be a native speaker of English by many of the Japanese and the Korean informants. Furthermore, the Japanese and the Korean informants deemed the HK speaker to be more representative of an English speaker from China. The KR speaker was also misidentified as a native speaker of English by the Chinese informants, whereas the Japanese informants generally perceived the KR speaker to be a Chinese speaker of English. The exception was the JP speaker of English, who was unanimously identified as Japanese. This tendency to misidentify the speakers as native speakers of English may indicate a general unfamiliarity with English speech forms, both native and non-native.

One such determinant in the misidentification of non-native speakers of English presented in the study as native may be the speech rate of the speakers in the recordings. The three speakers with the fastest speech rates (IN, 182.7 words/min; HK, 112.4 words/min; CN, 126.7 words/min) were misidentified by informants as native speakers of English (by 52.9%, 38.3% and 32.3% respectively), more than the KR (88.2 words/min) and the JP (84.4 words/min), who were

misidentified by only 23.3% and 3.2% of the informants respectively (see Table 13). It is also interesting to note that both the IN and HK speakers (as speakers from postcolonial areas) were most frequently misidentified as native speakers of English (despite the faster speech rate of the CN speaker over the HK speaker), suggesting that other factors may be involved. Further research into what may cause informants to misidentify non-native speakers of English as native speakers may provide a more in-depth understanding.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the KR, CN and HK speakers of English were generally more difficult to identify, the majority of informants labelled the speakers' country of origin within Eastern Asia. Further investigation into what may influence this ability to identify a speaker of English from Eastern Asia and/or as native/non-native speakers of English is beyond the scope of the present study. However, researchers may wish to investigate features of speech, either segmental (phonological) or supra-segmental (intonation, stress, pitch etc.) to determine whether these factors have an effect on the identification rate of speakers of English from Eastern Asia

The breakdown of identification/misidentification rates presented in this section is key in analysing the extent to which patterns of identification/misidentification may influence attitudes towards the speakers as evaluated in the speech evaluation experiment in part 1 of the survey (See Appendix C), thus aiming to address research question five (see Section 4.2). The information presented may also serve as further insight into why (if at all) speakers may be evaluated differently, as discussed in Chapter 6.

5.2 Part two: Speech evaluation experiment

The purpose of the speech evaluation experiment was to measure the attitudes of Chinese, Japanese and South Korean informants towards representative speakers of English from China (Mainland and Hong Kong), India, Japan, and South Korea, as outlined in research question one (see Section 4.2). The traits selected for inclusion on the evaluative scale were *confident/unconfident*, *friendly/unfriendly*, *cute/not cute*, *young/old*, *clear/unclear*, *energetic/tired* and *happy/unhappy*, a

scale on which the informants were required to rate each speaker. In the following section (Section 5.2.1), the results of the speaker evaluations are presented in the form of descriptive statistics, which are then used as a basis for the statistical analyses aimed at answering research question one (Sections 5.2.2 & 5.2.3). A preliminary discussion is provided for the results of the statistical analyses, with a more in-depth discussion provided in Chapter 6.

5.2.1 Speaker evaluations

The descriptive statistics of the five speakers based across all seven traits were calculated in the first stage of data analysis of the verbal-guise experiment. Mean evaluations and standard deviations for each trait per speaker are summarised and presented for the information of the reader in Table 17.

Table 17: Mean evaluation scores for each speaker according to trait

speaker		confident	friendly	cute	young	clear	energetic	happy	overall
IN	Mean	5.61	4.59	4.25	5.78	4.47	5.53	4.33	4.94
	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>1.62</i>	<i>1.53</i>	<i>1.60</i>	<i>1.01</i>	<i>1.81</i>	<i>1.35</i>	<i>1.38</i>	<i>0.85</i>
JP	Mean	3.32	4.83	4.78	5.88	4.15	4.37	4.23	4.51
	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>1.62</i>	<i>1.35</i>	<i>1.55</i>	<i>1.11</i>	<i>1.71</i>	<i>1.66</i>	<i>1.40</i>	<i>0.90</i>
HK	Mean	3.69	3.96	3.48	5.02	4.18	3.35	3.16	3.83
	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>1.55</i>	<i>1.26</i>	<i>1.3</i>	<i>1.18</i>	<i>1.692</i>	<i>1.51</i>	<i>1.15</i>	<i>0.83</i>
KR	Mean	2.51	4.34	3.51	4.73	3.59	3.87	3.55	3.73
	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>1.40</i>	<i>1.25</i>	<i>1.48</i>	<i>1.31</i>	<i>1.61</i>	<i>1.37</i>	<i>1.09</i>	<i>0.81</i>
CN	Mean	3.15	3.43	2.39	3.82	3.62	2.60	2.43	3.06
	<i>Std. Dev.</i>	<i>1.51</i>	<i>1.46</i>	<i>1.27</i>	<i>1.42</i>	<i>1.70</i>	<i>1.56</i>	<i>1.10</i>	<i>0.79</i>

(score 7 = the most favourable evaluation)

According to the mean evaluations of the five speakers, rankings of the speakers for each trait are displayed in order in Table 18 in order to provide a comparison between the evaluations of the

speakers according to each trait. The ratings/rankings are presented in ascending order from bottom to top.

Table 18: Ranking of each speaker according to trait

Ranking	confident	friendly	cute	young	clear	energetic	happy	overall
1	IN (5.61)	JP (4.83)	JP (4.78)	JP (5.88)	IN (4.47)	IN (5.53)	IN (4.33)	IN (4.94)
2	HK (3.69)	IN (4.59)	IN (4.25)	IN (5.78)	HK (4.18)	JP (4.37)	JP (4.23)	JP (4.51)
3	JP (3.32)	KR (4.34)	KR (3.51)	HK (5.02)	JP (4.15)	KR (3.87)	KR (3.55)	HK (3.83)
4	CN (3.15)	HK (3.96)	HK (3.48)	KR (4.73)	CN (3.62)	HK (3.35)	HK (3.16)	KR (3.73)
5	KR (2.51)	CN (3.43)	CN (2.39)	CN (3.82)	KR (3.59)	CN (2.60)	CN (2.43)	CN (3.06)

(score 7 = the most favourable evaluation)

It is interesting to note that the IN speaker and the HK speaker (as postcolonial regions of the English language) are rated highest on the traits of *confident* and *clear*, two traits that are traditionally associated with ‘status/competence’ (McKenzie, 2010).

In addition, the IN speaker was given high evaluations on all traits, which is in contrast to previous studies among Korean informants (Shim, 2011) and Chinese informants (Zhang, 2011), where Indian English was often denigrated on most traits (see Section 3.1 for more details). This may be as result of the high frequency with which the IN speaker was misidentified as a native speaker of English (see Table 13). A more in-depth discussion is provided in Section 6.1.

Furthermore, the CN speaker of English was accorded the lowest evaluations in all but two of the traits (*confident*, *clear*), which is inconsistent with direct attitudes found among teachers in Jenkins’ study (2007), suggesting that Chinese English was the most highly rated among East Asian varieties of English. In the same study both the Korean and the Japanese varieties of English were rated particularly negatively, whereas in the present study the JP speaker of English was accorded rather high ratings in comparison to the other speakers (see Table 25).

5.2.1.1 Principal component analysis

A principal components analysis (PCA) was performed upon the data with the aim of reducing the data to a smaller number of factors and uncovering any potential latent variables to be extracted for further analyses. A principal components analysis helps to identify the number of dimensions upon which evaluation of the speakers was potentially based. As highlighted in Section 2.4.3, previous

language attitude studies had found that speakers tend to be evaluated according to two dimensions, status/competence (i.e. the level of prestige given to the speaker), and solidarity (i.e. the level to which speakers are judged to be socially attractive). Identifying the number of evaluative dimensions allows for a more in-depth statistical analysis required to address research question one (Section 4.2), which aims to investigate attitudes of Chinese, Japanese and South Korean informants towards speakers of English from China (Mainland and Hong Kong), India, Japan and South Korea, and research question four, which aims to investigate the effects (if any) of background variables (nationality; gender) upon the speaker evaluations.

In order to perform a PCA it was first necessary to prepare the data for analysis. The raw data was screened for outliers and errors, and a decision was made to exclude participant entries with any missing values i.e. any instances where an item on the speech evaluation scale was missed or left blank. The inclusion of such missing values may have had an impact on data results and/or interpretation later in the analyses. Thus, the initial 600 responses were reduced to 554 responses which comprises a complete data set for the verbal-guise experiment (only the 554 responses were presented in the descriptive statistics in part one of this chapter).

The mean evaluations for each trait provided in the verbal-guise experiment were calculated using SPSS v.20. Table 19 presents the overall mean evaluation score (in addition to the standard deviation) for each trait in descending order. In order to understand the relationship between the traits, the data was subjected to a PCA. Firstly, it is important to assess the suitability of the data for PCA. The following tables (Tables 19 and 20) show the results of preliminary tests, which were then used to assess the suitability of the data for PCA, which are summarised below.

Table 19: Overall mean evaluations and standard deviations according to each adjective trait (N = 554)

	Mean	Std. Deviation
young	5.0498	.66358
friendly	4.2144	.75205
clear	4.0029	.92456
energetic	3.9386	.78318
cute	3.6975	.85348
confident	3.6585	.75279
happy	3.5560	.65874

(score 7 = the most favourable evaluation)

Table 20: Trait Communalities: Sum of Speakers

	Initial	Extraction
confident	1.000	.418
friendly	1.000	.219
cute	1.000	.556
young	1.000	.257
clear	1.000	.403
energetic	1.000	.399
happy	1.000	.619

The following preliminary tests confirmed the suitability of a factor analysis for the data:

Sample size was concluded to be suitable for PCA (N = 554). Table 20 reveals the presence of five from seven coefficients above 0.3; average communality = 0.399. Bartlett's Test of Sphericity $p < .05$ ($p = .000$), therefore null hypothesis is rejected; this suggests the presence of relationships between the variables included in the analysis. KMO score: $r > .6$ ($r = .809$). In addition, partial

correlations between the variables (off-diagonal elements) were small or very small. The aforementioned tests indicate that the data was suitable to undergo a principal components analysis.

5.2.1.2 Component extraction

In order to determine the number of components (i.e. dimensions) that best describes the underlying relationship among the variables (i.e. traits), Kaiser's measure of sampling adequacy (eigenvalues > 1) was used. Kaiser's criterion (also known as the eigenvalue rule) is a ratio of the sum of squared correlations to the sum of squared correlations plus sum of squared partial correlations. According to the criterion, the value approaches 1.0 if partial correlations are small (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). In other words, according to the rule, only factors with an eigenvalue of 1.0 or more are retained for further investigation. As Table 21 shows, only one value exceeded the value of 1.0, suggesting that, for the informants in the present study, the traits used to evaluate the speakers represented only one dimension (i.e. component). This component accounts for 41% of the total variance (see Table 21). A scree plot of eigenvalues is provided in Appendix B (Figure 13). Parallel Analysis also supported the extraction of one component (see Appendix B, Table 42 for parallel analysis).

In previous language attitude research, informants were found to be evaluating speakers along more than one dimension. For example in Hiraga's (2005) study, informants evaluated the speakers in terms of 'status' (e.g. *intelligent, clear, wealthy*), and 'solidarity' (e.g. *friendly, trustworthy, reliable*). There have also been studies where three evaluative dimensions were found to exist: '*superiority*', '*attractiveness*' and '*dynamism*' (Zahn & Hopper, 1985). Therefore, in the PCA of the aforementioned research, traits were shown to be loaded on more than component. An indicator of a valid separate component is the existence of components with eigenvalues over 1.0. As shown in Table 21, the traits used in the present study were found to be evaluated along only one dimension (shaded below).

Table 21: Component loading according to eigenvalues and distribution of variance

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2.869	40.986	40.986	2.869	40.986	40.986
2	.925	13.220	54.206			
3	.868	12.403	66.609			
4	.804	11.489	78.098			
5	.578	8.252	86.349			
6	.536	7.661	94.010			
7	.419	5.990	100.000			

Despite the inconsistency with previous research with regards to number of dimensions found, reasons underlying the one evaluative dimension may be easily explained. As previously mentioned, research has consistently shown that on status-related traits native speakers of English have been accorded high evaluations, and non-native speakers of English low evaluations. Similarly, on solidarity-related traits, non-native speakers of English are generally evaluated highly, whereas native speakers of English are given relatively low evaluations. The selection of traits in such studies have been preselected (Lambert et al, 1960) and/or based on evaluative criteria of previous studies (Hiraga, 2005). More recently, however, there have been calls to determine evaluative criteria specifically for the target informants, since evaluations may be culturally-specific (El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001; McKenzie, 2010; Osgood, 1964; Yook & Lindemann, 2013). This procedure involves pilot testing with informants similar to the final target informants. Informants in pilot tests are asked to listen to the speech recordings and to write adjectives that describe the speakers. These adjectives are then analysed in order to develop a specific evaluative criteria for the final study (for a more detailed explanation of design procedure see Section 4.7.6).

Studies that have followed the latter procedure have also tended to find two distinct evaluative dimensions (*status*, *solidarity*). However, the studies have included native speakers of English (McKenzie, 2010; Yook & Lindemann, 2013). If, as previous findings suggest, non-native speakers of English evaluate native and non-native speaker of English in terms of status and solidarity (Lindemann, 2003; McKenzie, 2008b, 2010; Yook & Lindemann, 2013; Zahn & Hopper, 1985),

then adjectives elicited when hearing such speakers are likely to reflect such dimensions. Thus, for example, a native speaker of English may be described as *intelligent* or *wealthy*, whereas a non-native speaker of English may be described as *friendly* or *trustworthy*. These adjectives or traits have then been used to develop a suitable semantic differential scale.

The present study does not include native speakers of English. When informants were asked to describe the speakers shown in the recordings in a pilot study, it is perhaps more likely (provided they could generally identify the speakers as non-native speakers), that the adjectives elicited (by Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants) would reflect the solidarity dimension. Thus, the number of status-related traits that were elicited was perhaps reduced, resulting in status-related traits not being included as part of the final evaluative criteria. The informants used in the pilot study were international exchange students based in the UK, where they have had more exposure to native English speaker accents, and a range of non-native English speaker accents. Therefore, informants may have been more adept at categorising speakers as native and non-native speakers of English. In the absence of an identification task for the pilot study, however, it is impossible to know for certain whether informants were able to correctly label speakers as non-native speakers of English, and conclusions regarding the elicited traits are purely speculative.

The difference in evaluative criteria elicited by Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants during the pilot study may indicate that non-native speakers of English (and more specifically nationals of East Asian countries) evaluate non-native speakers of English according to different criteria than for native speakers of English. For example, the inclusion of the trait '*cute*' could be a more appropriate description of East Asians among East Asians. Cute (*Kawaii*) culture in Japan has become increasingly popular in East Asia (Belson & Bremner, 2003), in particular Korea and China (Zitong, 2013), and may therefore be a more important or meaningful trait for East Asian informants.

5.2.1.3 Overall ranking

In order to determine whether there were significance differences between the evaluations of the speakers, a one-way repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted. A one-way repeated measured ANOVA is a within-subjects design, where the same subjects are measured on

the same continuous scale on three or more occasions. In the case of the present study, every informant evaluated each of the five speakers on the same evaluative scale, with the independent variables being the different speakers and the dependent variable the evaluation given to each speaker (with 1 – 7 determining the degree of intensity of their evaluation according to each bipolar trait). Thus, the purpose of a one-way repeated ANOVA is to tell us whether there are significant differences in the mean evaluation scores across the five speakers.

Repeated measures ANOVAs are often concerned with sphericity of the data; to assume sphericity means to assume that the data were sampled from populations where the standard deviations (or, more specifically the variance, which is the square of the standard deviation) were identical. If sphericity may be assumed, this adds validity to the results of the repeated measures ANOVA. A common method for testing whether the assumption of sphericity has been violated is Mauchly's Test of Sphericity. If the significance value is over 0.001, sphericity may be assumed i.e. the variation among the standard deviations of the speaker evaluations is fairly small, and therefore results of the repeated measures ANOVA can be interpreted as correct.

Another test statistic useful in interpreting multivariate analysis of variance statistics is Wilk's Lambda. Wilk's Lambda is used to test the null hypothesis that the group means are all equal. In this case, Wilk's Lambda determines whether the mean evaluation scores are equal, or whether there is a significant difference in the evaluation of the speakers. When the value of Wilk's Lambda is less than 0.05, a statistical difference between the means is indicated.

If a significant difference is found between the means, it is important to assess the size of the effect. In order to ascertain effect size, partial eta squared, a measure of variance is calculated. Partial eta squared indicates what proportion of the variance the dependent variable is attributable to the factor in question. In other words, to what extent the difference in the mean evaluations is caused by an underlying factor. According to Cohen (1988), a value of 0.01 indicates a small effect, 0.06 a moderate effect, and 0.14 a large effect size.

Results from the ANOVA, which compares the overall means and standard deviations of each of the five speakers, in addition to ANOVA summaries, are detailed in Tables 22 and 23.

Table 22: Overall mean evaluations and standard deviations for each speaker in descending order (N = 554)

Speaker	Mean	Std. Deviation
IN	4.9384	.84618
JP	4.5209	.89930
HK	3.8324	.82026
KR	3.7362	.80702
CN	3.0562	.78487

(score 7 = the most favourable evaluation)

Table 23: ANOVA Summaries for speakers

Source		Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Condition	Sphericity	1184.929	4	296.232	522.309	.000	.486
	Assumed						
Error(Condition)	Sphericity	1254.556	2212	.567			
	Assumed						

The results show a significant overall effect between the speakers: Mauchly's Test = 0.863, consequently sphericity was assumed: $F(4, 550) = 445.756$, Wilks Lambda $p < 0.05$ ($p = .000$), therefore indicating a significant difference among the means; partial eta squared = 0.764, which suggests a very large effect size (Cohen, 1988: 284-7)

Due to the statistical significance between the evaluations of the five speakers, a post-hoc test was run to determine where the difference occurred. The pairwise comparisons of speaker ratings are shown in Table 24. The speakers are listed in order by evaluation score from top left to bottom right i.e. the Indian speaker was accorded the highest evaluation, followed by the Japanese speaker,

the Hong Kong speaker, the Korean speaker, and finally the Chinese speaker. The table shows the comparison between the mean evaluation scores for each speaker, where an asterisk indicates a significant difference (where a significant difference is found if the value (p) is less than 0.05).

Table 24: Significance differences between the mean evaluation ratings of each speaker

	JP	HK	KR	CN
IN	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
JP		0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
HK			0.218	0.000*
KR				0.000*

* significant (Bonferroni adjusted)

The IN speaker was shown to be rated significantly higher than each of the speakers, and the CN speaker rated significantly lowest of all the speakers. The IN and JP speakers were rated significantly higher than the HK and the KR but there was no difference between the ratings of the KR speaker and the HK speaker. To provide a summary of the significant differences in mean evaluation scores among the speakers, Table 25 presents the ranking of the five speakers according to the mean evaluation scores (a value marked with an asterisk represents a significant difference between informants' evaluations, $p < 0.05$). For example, The IN speaker of English was accorded a significantly higher mean evaluation score than the JP speaker and the JP significantly higher than the HK speaker. There was no significant difference found between the mean evaluation scores of the HK speaker and the KR speaker, but the KR speaker was rated significantly higher than the CN speaker of English.

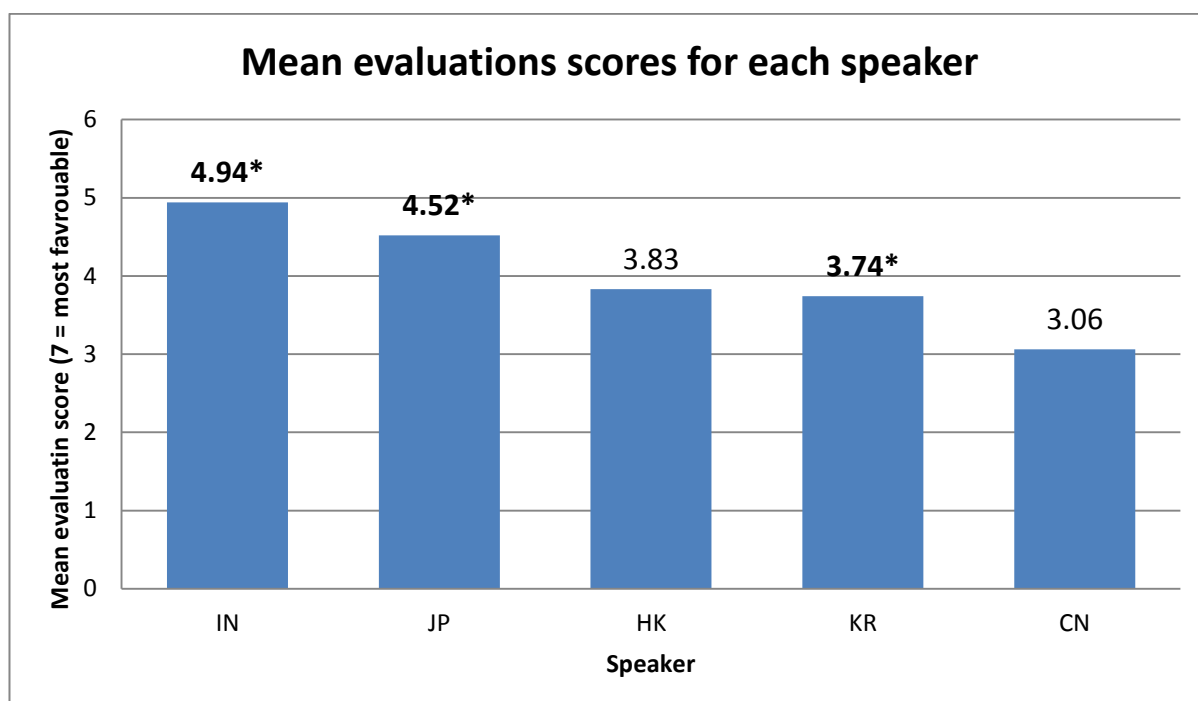
Table 25: Ranking of each speaker according to mean evaluation scores (including standard deviations)

Speaker	Mean evaluation score	Standard deviation
Indian speaker of English	4.94*	0.85
Japanese speakers of English	4.52*	0.90
Hong Kong speaker of English	3.83	0.82
Korean speakers of English	3.74*	0.81
Chinese speaker of English	3.06	0.79

(mean evaluation score of 7 = the most favourable evaluation)

A graph of the mean evaluation scores/rankings is provided below (Figure 3) to provide readers with a visual aid of the speaker rankings according to the mean evaluation scores. Significant differences are marked with an asterisk and presented in bold type.

Figure 3: Overall mean evaluation scores for each speaker (N = 554)



The results in Table 25 and Figure 3 suggest that, when all traits are compared, the IN speaker is rated significantly higher than the remaining speakers presented in the study. This finding is inconsistent with previous language attitude research involving Chinese informants, where Indian English was rated most negatively in terms of solidarity traits *gentle*, *pleasant* and *decent*, in addition to some status traits *clear* and *intelligent* (Zhang, 2011; See Section 3.1.3). Similarly, a verbal guise experiment involving Korean-only informants revealed that Indian English was evaluated significantly lower than other non-native English speaker varieties, which included Hong Kong English, Korean English and Taiwanese English (Kim, 2007). Moreover, Korean informants in a direct attitude study labelled another English accent from the Indian subcontinent, Pakistan, as ‘bad English’ (Shim, 2002). In Japan, studies have traditionally found that Englishes of the Indian sub-continent (e.g. Indian English, Sri Lanka English) are also evaluated lower than other non-native English speaker varieties (Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto, 1995). The negative evaluations given to speakers of English from the Indian sub-continent are thus in stark contrast to the relatively positive evaluation given to the IN speaker in the present study. Possible reasons for the high evaluation of the IN speaker are discussed in Section 6.1. However, it is worth noting that in one recent study using a verbal guise experiment, Japanese informants were ambivalent in their attitude towards an Indian speaker of English, who they rated higher than both a Korean and a Chinese speaker of English (Rivers, 2011), which is more similar to the findings of the present study.

The present study also demonstrates positive evaluations of the JP speaker of English by the Chinese, the Korean and the Japanese informants. In previous studies (most notably Jenkins, 2007), Japanese English was rated particularly negatively in comparison to other Asian varieties of English amongst English language teachers from 12 countries. In studies involving Japanese-only informants however, there is evidence that suggests a favourable attitude towards Japanese speakers of English especially in comparison with other non-native speakers of English (Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto, 1995; McKenzie, 2010; Rivers, 2011). However, a study involving only Korean informants found Japanese English to be the most undesirable English accent (Shin, 2011). Therefore, there is evidence to suggest that in studies among East Asian informants, Japanese speakers of English therefore have generally been denigrated, especially among Chinese and

Korean informants. Japanese informants have been shown to be more favourable towards Japanese English, yet still exhibit anxiety about pronunciation and levels of correctness (see Section 3.1.1). In the present study, however, the JP speaker was accorded high evaluations by the majority of informants. The following section (Section 5.2.1.4) shows the mean evaluations according to the nationality of the informants, and a discussion is provided in Section 6.4.

No significant difference was found in the evaluations of the HK speaker and the KR speaker in the present study. However, the HK speaker was evaluated significantly lower than the IN and the JP speakers, and significantly higher than the CN speaker. Similar to the findings of the present study, previous research among Japanese-only informants has demonstrated a higher preference for Japanese speakers of English over a Hong Kong speaker of English, the latter of which was rated negatively. However, it is interesting to note that, in contrast to the present study, the aforementioned research indicated a higher preference for both Japanese and Hong Kong speakers of English than an English speaker of the Indian sub-continent, Sri Lanka (Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto, 1995). A study among Chinese informants also rated a Mandarin Chinese English speaker significantly higher than a Cantonese Chinese English speaker (Xu, Wang & Case, 2010), whereas in the present study the HK speaker of English was rated significantly higher than the CN speaker of English.

In the present study, the KR speaker of English was, in general, rated somewhat negatively. These findings are consistent with studies involving Korean-only informants where Korean speakers of English were also evaluated negatively (Yook & Lindemann, 2013) and where a Korean English accent was deemed undesirable (but more desirable than other Asian varieties) (Shim, 2002; Shin, 2011). One study among Korean-only informants however found that Korean speakers of English were not evaluated differently from two native speakers of English (USA, UK) and two non-native speakers of English (Taiwan, Hong Kong), yet significantly higher than an Indian speaker of English (Kim, 2007). However, care needs to be taken when interpreting these results since the evaluations were not subjected to a principal components analysis, therefore it cannot be ascertained on what and how many dimensions the speakers were being judged, and which may have affected the results/rankings of speaker evaluations. Informants in a study in China described

Korean English as ‘bad English’ (although similar labels were given to Chinese English and Indian English) (Zhang, 2011), which may offer some insight into the low evaluation of the KR speaker in the present study. In the same study however, the results of a verbal guise experiment found that a Korean speaker of English was rated higher than both an Indian speaker of English and a Chinese speaker of English, whereas in the present study the IN speaker was rated significantly higher than the KR speaker. A questionnaire by Tokumoto & Shibata (2011) revealed that Korean informants negatively evaluated their own English accents and exhibited anxiety about their English pronunciation in particular. Another questionnaire sent out to English language teachers across 12 countries by Jenkins’ (2007) revealed a negative attitude towards Korean English. The studies by Tokumoto & Shibata (2011) and Jenkins’ (2007) may indicate negative attitudes towards Korean speakers of English, which in turn may help to explain the relatively low evaluations given to the KR speaker in the present study.

The relatively low evaluations of the CN speaker of English in the present study are consistent with recent studies among Chinese informants (Zhang, 2011), where a speaker of Chinese-accented English was also evaluated lowest over eight traits, a study that included Korean speakers of English and Indian speakers of English. However, a study by Xu, Wang & Case (2010) found that Chinese informants evaluated a Chinese speaker of English whose first language was Mandarin significantly higher both on status and social attractiveness traits than a Chinese speaker of English whose first language was Cantonese (as was the case with the HK speaker of English in the present study). Furthermore, although He & Li (2009) found that a “typical” Chinese speaker of English was rated lower than a Chinese speaker of English whose English speech was deemed to exhibit less influence from her first language, the attitudes of Chinese informants were “far from being negative towards China English” (He & Li, 2009: 82), whereas in the present study the Chinese speaker was evaluated negatively, and relatively to the other speakers, by all informants including the Chinese informants. A more positive attitude toward Chinese English speakers was revealed in Jenkins’ (2007) study involving English language teachers in 12 countries, where Chinese English was rated higher than other Asian varieties, especially Japanese and Korean forms of English, which were rated relatively low. Conversely, in the present study, both the Japanese and Korean speakers of English were given a significantly higher rating than the Chinese speaker of English by

all informants, suggesting that Chinese speakers of English were viewed more negatively among the other East Asian speakers presented in the study by Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants.

5.2.1.4 Ranking according to informant nationality

Since the present study included three informants groups (Chinese, Japanese and Korean), who were asked to evaluate varieties of English including a speaker who shared the same national group membership as themselves, it was felt beneficial to investigate the ranking evaluations not only as an entire informant sample (as above), but as individual groups according to the nationality of the informants. It has already been revealed that the informants were more adept at identifying speakers of English from their own national groups (see Section 5.1.3). Therefore, it was deemed interesting to determine what difference (if any) this had upon the ratings/rankings of the speakers according the nationality of informants.

Chinese informants

The pairwise comparisons of speaker ratings according to the Chinese informants are shown in Table 26. Again, the speakers are listed in order by evaluation score from top left to bottom right, where the IN speaker was accorded the highest mean evaluation score, and the CN speaker the lowest. Table 26 thus presents a comparison between the mean evaluation scores of all five speakers, with significant differences found marked with an asterisk.

Table 26: Significance differences between the mean evaluation ratings of each speaker among the Chinese informants only

	JP	HK	KR	CN
IN	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
JP		1.000	0.000*	0.000*
HK			0.000*	0.000*
KO				0.020*

* significant (Bonferroni adjusted)

There was a small difference between how the Chinese informants evaluated each speaker and the overall evaluation scores as seen in Table 26. The IN speaker was again rated significantly higher

than the remaining speakers, and the CN speaker significantly lower than the remaining speakers. The KR speaker was rated significantly higher than the CN speaker and the HK speaker significantly higher than the KR speaker. However, the JP and the HK speakers were not rated significantly differently.

For ease of interpretation, the speaker ranking/evaluations for the Chinese informants are presented in Table 27. A value marked with an asterisk represents a significant difference between the ratings below.

Table 27: The Chinese informants' ranking of the five speakers by mean evaluation scores (and including standard deviations)

Speaker	Mean evaluation score	Standard deviation
Indian speaker of English	5.06*	0.84
Japanese speakers of English	4.27	0.79
Hong Kong speaker of English	4.17*	0.68
Korean speakers of English	3.84*	0.71
Chinese speaker of English	3.60	0.73

(mean evaluation score of 7 = the most favourable evaluation)

Japanese informants

The pairwise comparisons of speaker ratings according to the Japanese informants are shown in Table 28. Again, the speakers are listed in order by evaluation score from top left to bottom right, where the IN speaker was accorded the highest mean evaluation score and the CN the lowest. Table 28 thus presents a comparison between the mean evaluation scores of all five speakers, with significant differences found marked with an asterisk.

Table 28: Significance differences between the mean evaluation ratings of each speaker among the Japanese informants only

	JP	KR	HK	CN
IN	1.000	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
JP		0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
HK			0.000*	0.000*
KO				0.000*

* significant (Bonferroni adjusted)

The Japanese informants rated the CN speaker significantly lower than the remaining four speakers. However, the KR speaker was evaluated significantly higher than the HK speaker, which differed from the overall ranking, where the HK speaker was rated higher but there was no significant difference between how the HK and KR speakers were evaluated. Both the IN and JP speakers were rated significantly higher than the KR speaker. However, there was no significant difference in the way that Japanese informants evaluated the IN and the JP speakers.

Again, for ease of interpretation, the speaker ranking/evaluations for the Japanese informants are presented for the reader in Table 29. A value marked with an asterisk represents a significant difference between the ratings below.

Table 29: The Japanese informants' ranking of the five speakers by mean evaluation scores (and including standard deviations)

Speaker	Mean evaluation score	Standard deviation
Indian speaker of English	5.20	0.76
Japanese speaker of English	5.11*	0.73
Korean speaker of English	4.08*	0.71
Hong Kong speaker of English	3.74*	0.86
Chinese speaker of English	2.87	0.68

(mean evaluation score of 7 = the most favourable evaluation)

Korean informants

The pairwise comparisons of speaker ratings according to the Korean informants are shown in Table 30. Again, the speakers are listed in order by evaluation score from top left to bottom right, where the IN speaker was accorded the highest mean evaluation score and the CN the lowest. Table 30 thus presents a comparison between the mean evaluation scores of all five speakers, with significant differences found marked with an asterisk.

Table 30: Significance differences between the mean evaluation ratings of each speaker among the Korean informants only

	JP	HK	KR	CN
IN	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
JP		0.000*	0.000*	0.000*
HK			0.000*	0.000*
KO				0.000*

* significant (Bonferroni adjusted)

There was a significant difference in the way that the Korean informants evaluated each speaker. The IN speaker was rated highest, followed by the JP speaker, the HK speaker, the KR speaker and finally the CN speaker.

The speaker ranking/evaluations for the Korean informants are presented below. Significant differences are underlined. The reader may want to note the relatively low evaluations given by the Korean informants compared to the Chinese and the Japanese informants, which are further analysed in Section 5.2.2.1.

Table 31: The Korean informants' ranking of the five speakers by mean evaluation scores (and including standard deviations)

Speaker	Mean evaluation score	Standard deviation
Indian speaker of English	4.52*	0.79
Japanese speakers of English	4.08*	0.81
Hong Kong speaker of English	3.62*	0.80
Korean speakers of English	3.25*	0.76
Chinese speaker of English	2.75	0.67

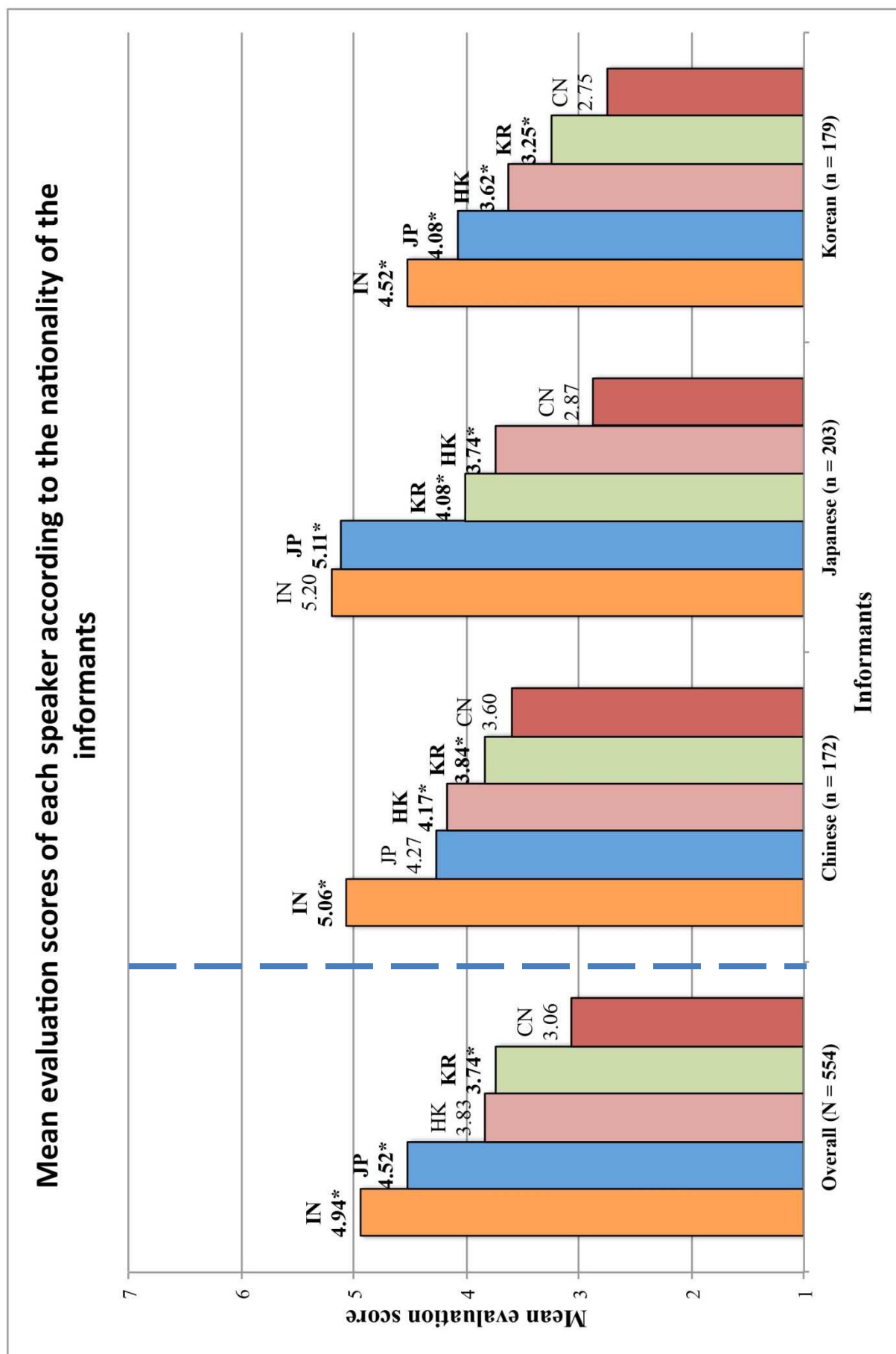
(mean evaluation score of 7 = the most favourable evaluation)

The significant differences between the mean evaluations presented in the tables above indicated that there is indeed a difference in the way each informant group evaluations the five speakers presented in the speech evaluation experiment. The ranking of the speakers was identical for each group of informants (i.e. IN > JP > HK > KR > CN), with the exception of the Japanese informants, who evaluated the HK speaker significantly higher than the KR speaker. However, significant differences were found in the way each informant group (according to nationality) evaluated the individual speakers. The Chinese informants evaluated the IN speaker significantly higher than the remaining speakers, but there was no significant difference found between the evaluations of the JP speaker and HK speakers. For the Japanese informants all speakers were also evaluated differently, but there was no significant difference in the way they evaluated the JP speaker and IN speaker (who were both accorded the most favourable evaluations). There was a significant difference in the way the Korean informants evaluated each individual speaker, following the familiar pattern presented above, with the IN speaker ranked highest, and the CN speaker as lowest.

In order to provide a more comprehensive comparison of the mean evaluations for each speaker according to the nationality of the informants, a bar chart is provided below (which includes the overall ratings for all three informant groups), followed by a brief discussion of general trends

noticed in the different evaluations. Values marked with an asterisk and in bold typeface are significant differences from the rating below.

Figure 4: Mean evaluation scores of each speaker according to nationality of informants (N = 554)



The graph enables a comparison between the overall mean evaluations of all informants, and the mean evaluations of each informant group according to the nationality of the informants. Despite the differences in the mean evaluation scores between the groups, the ranking of each speaker appears to remain relatively similar, with the IN speaker as most favourable, followed by the JP speaker, and the CN speaker as the least favourable. The HK speaker is generally rated higher than the KR speaker by the Chinese and the Korean informants, but the opposite is true for the Japanese informants.

The reasons for the similarity in rankings regardless of the nationality of the informants are unclear. Researchers, however, claim that speaker evaluations are not based upon inherent aesthetic or linguistic features of a language or language variety (see Chapter 2), but are based upon social connotations attached to the perceived group membership of the speaker (Garrett, 2010). In this case, the perceived group membership may be the country of origin of the speakers, since stereotypes are known to exist for different national groups, or whether the speaker was perceived to be a native speaker of English or a non-native speaker of English, since research has shown that they are evaluated differently. Similarly, even speakers from the same country are often evaluated differently, which is believed to be influenced by the level of standardised accent with which the speaker uses (Ryan & Giles, 1982). It is therefore of interest to investigate not only the informants' ability to identify the speakers, but also their misidentifications, particularly in instances where speakers are perceived to be native speakers of English. For a more in-depth discussion regarding the similarity of rankings see Section 6.4.1.

The statistical analyses presented in this section (Section 5.2.1) are useful in addressing research question one, which aims to investigate the attitudes of Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants towards the five speakers of English selected for the study from the following countries: China (Mainland and Hong Kong), India, Japan, and South Korea. As shown above, significant differences were found among the mean evaluations of the speakers, and that these significant differences may differ slightly depending upon the nationality of the informants. Further analyses to determine what may cause the significant differences are provided in the following sections

(Section 5.2.2, 5.2.3). A more in-depth discussion regarding significant differences in mean evaluation scores of the speakers is presented in Section 6.1.

5.2.2 Main effects of independent variables upon speaker evaluations

Research question four asked '*what are the effects (if any) of the following background variables upon informants' evaluations of the speakers (i) the nationality of the informants and (ii) gender*' (see Section 4.2). Moreover, research question five asked '*to what extent (if any) do patterns of identification and misidentification influence attitudes towards speakers of English?*' In order to address the aforementioned research questions, it is necessary to conduct statistical analyses to investigate the possible effects of independent variables (i.e. nationality; gender; identification rate) upon the evaluations informants accorded to the five speakers (as presented in Section 5.2.1).

To investigate whether any of the independent variables had an effect on the speaker evaluations, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted. A MANOVA is an extension of ANOVA (see Section 5.2.1.3), and is used when there is more than one dependent variable (in this case, speakers). MANOVAs compare the groups (independent variables) and indicate whether any mean differences between the groups on the combination of dependent variables are likely to have been caused by chance. It is possible to complete a series of ANOVAs in order to measure the same outcome, however, the greater the number of tests that are run, the greater the possibility of an inflated Type I error (i.e. when the tests incorrectly indicate that there is a difference between the groups, leading to a rejection of the null hypothesis). The advantage of using a MANOVA is that it adjusts for the increased risk of Type I error, thus resulting in more accurate statistical results.

For the MANOVA in the present study, the overall mean evaluation scores for each speaker were included as dependent variables (x5: IN, JP, HK, KR, CN), and the independent variables selected were: the nationality of the informants (x3: Chinese, Japanese, Korean), gender (x2: male, female), the ability to identify speakers (x6: informants that could identify all five speakers, four, three, two, one and none). For descriptive statistics of each of these independent variables see Section 5.1. The results of the statistical analyses for each independent variable are presented in the following sub-sections (Section 5.2.2.1 - 5.2.2.4)

Preliminary assumption tests were conducted to check for normality, linearity, univariate and multivariate outliers (consequently six cases were omitted from the test), homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices, and multicollinearity, with no serious violations noted. The aforementioned

tests are important in determining whether a MANOVA is a suitable method for testing the data set.

The fact that the assumption tests were met further indicates the validity of such a test.

During preliminary analysis, Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices indicated that the data violated the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices ($p = .000$). In other words, for the dependent variables considered in the test, statistical analyses suggested that equality among the groups was not met. The assumption is considered to be violated when $p < .001$ (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013: 254). A number of attempts were made to address this, including equalizing the sample sizes of each informant group, which yielded the same result ($p = .000$). Tabachnick & Fidell (2013: 281) conclude that Box's M can tend to be too strict when a large sample size is used. Levene's test was also not assumed for the HK speaker ($p = .046$). To address this, a more conservative alpha level was set to (first .25, then .01). However, the results again remained the same.

The results of the MANOVA are presented according to each independent variable below.

5.2.2.1 Nationality

Using multivariate tests with a Bonferroni adjusted alpha i.e. an adjustment made to p values when several statistical tests are being performed simultaneously on a single data set in order to reduce the chances of obtaining Type I errors (see Section 5.2.2), the nationality of the informants was found to have a statistically significant effect upon the evaluations of the speakers: $F(10, 1000) = 18.623, p < .05$ ($p = .00$), Wilk's Lambda = .711, partial eta squared = .157, which indicates a large effect size. See Section 5.2.1.3 for a description of the statistical tests and their functions.

When the results for the dependent variables (i.e. speaker evaluations) were considered separately using univariate tests, the nationality of the informants was found to have a significant effect upon the evaluations of all speakers, and indicated where the differences occurred.

The statistical differences for each of the speakers are presented below:

- i) IN speaker: $F(2, 504) = 10.483, p < .05$ ($p = .00$), partial eta squared = .040, which indicates a small effect size. An inspection of pairwise comparisons and mean scores indicated that the Korean informants evaluated the IN speaker significantly lower ($M =$

4.52) than both the Chinese informants ($M = 5.06$) and the Japanese informants ($M = 5.20$). The Chinese and Japanese informants did not differ significantly in their evaluations.

- ii) JP speaker: $F(2, 504) = 32.094$, $p < .05$ ($p = .00$), partial eta squared = .113, which indicates a large effect size. An inspection of pairwise comparisons and mean scores indicated that the Japanese informants evaluated the JP speaker significantly higher ($M = 5.11$) than both the Chinese informants ($M = 4.27$) and the Korean informants ($M = 4.08$). The Chinese and Korean informants did not differ significantly in their evaluations.
- iii) HK speaker: $F(2, 504) = 9.289$, $p < .05$ ($p = .00$), partial eta squared = .036, which indicates a small effect size. An inspection of pairwise comparisons and mean scores indicated that the Chinese informants evaluated the HK speaker significantly higher ($M = 4.16$) than both the Japanese informants ($M = 3.74$) and the Korean informants ($M = 3.62$). The Japanese and Korean informants did not differ significantly in their evaluations.
- iv) KR speaker: $F(2, 504) = 28.593$, $p < .05$ ($p = .00$), partial eta squared = .102, which indicates a large effect size. An inspection of pairwise comparisons and mean scores indicated that the Korean informants evaluated the KR speaker significantly lower ($M = 3.25$) than both the Japanese informants ($M = 4.08$) and the Chinese informants ($M = 3.84$). The Chinese and Japanese informants did not differ significantly in their evaluations.
- v) CN speaker: $F(2, 504) = 29.551$, $p < .05$ ($p = .00$), partial eta squared = .105, which indicates a large effect size. An inspection of pairwise comparisons and mean scores indicated that the Chinese informants evaluated the CN speaker significantly higher ($M = 3.60$) than both the Japanese informants ($M = 2.87$) and the Korean informants ($M =$

2.75). The Japanese and Korean informants did not differ significantly in their evaluations.

The results indicate that the speakers were evaluated significantly differently according to the nationality of the informants. Figure 5 presents a comparison of the mean evaluation scores for each speaker according to the nationality of informants. The significant differences (found above) are marked with an asterisk and in bold typeface.

Figure 5: Mean evaluation score of each speaker comparison according to nationality of informants (N = 554)

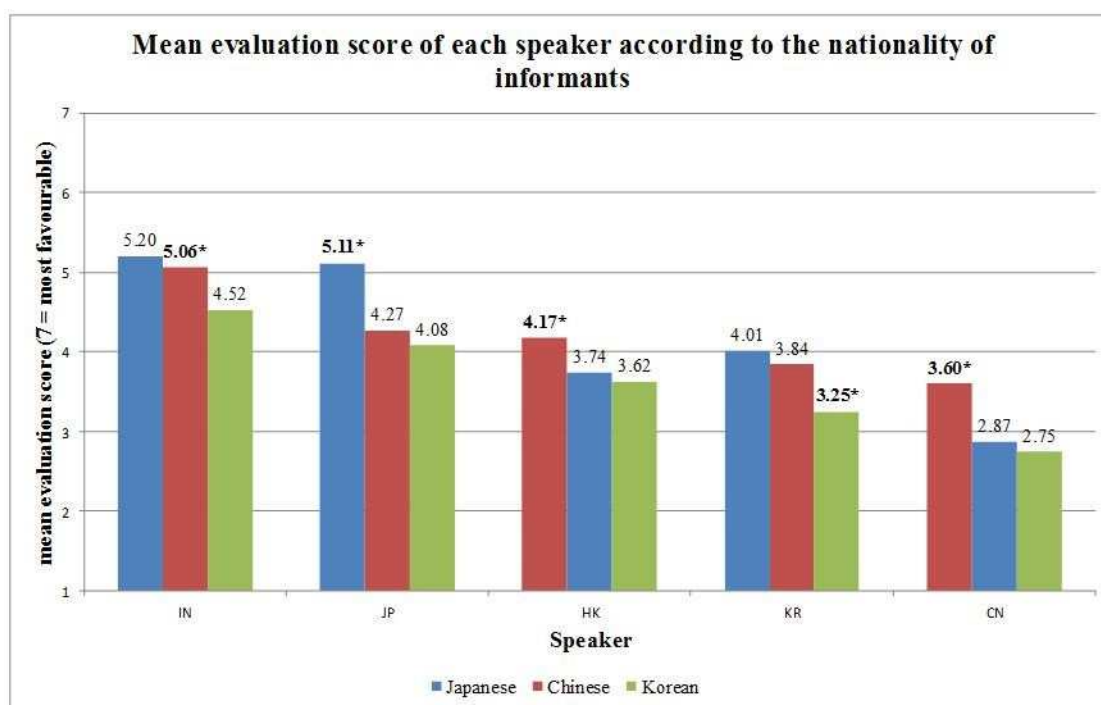


Figure 5 shows the difference in evaluation of the speakers according to the nationality of the informants. It is particularly important to draw the reader's attention to the Japanese informants, who accorded significantly higher evaluations to the JP speaker of English than the Chinese and the Korean informants. Furthermore, the Chinese informants evaluated both the Chinese English speakers (HK and CN) significantly higher than the Japanese and the Korean informants. The Korean informants, however, evaluated the IN speaker and the KR speaker significantly *lower* in comparison with the Chinese and the Japanese informants.

In addition to the differences between mean evaluations of each speaker according to the nationality of informants, and to give an indication of the differences in the mean evaluations given by each informant group according to the nationality of the informants, it was felt beneficial to

investigate the overall evaluations given by each informant group across all five speakers. Mean speaker evaluation scores for all speakers according to the informants' national group was calculated, and are presented in Table 32. Values marked with an asterisk represent a significant difference from the rating below.

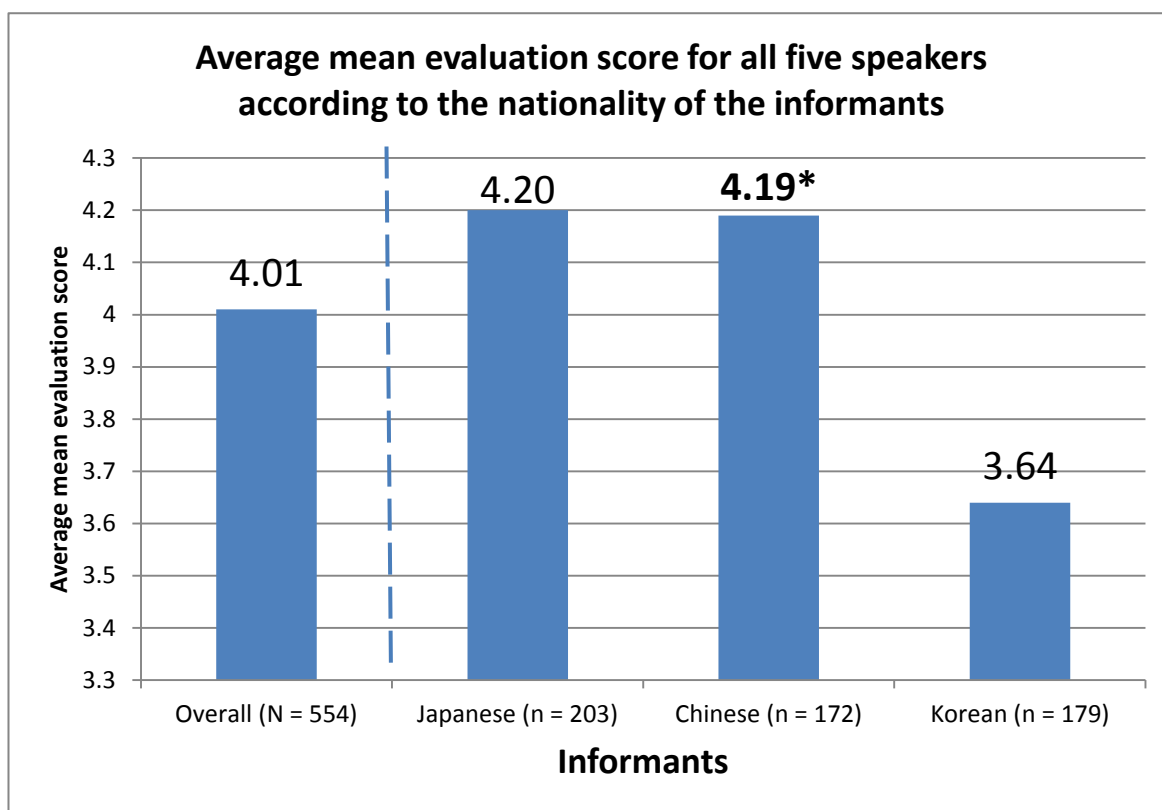
Table 32: Mean evaluation scores for all five speakers according to each nationality informant group

Informant nationality	Grand mean evaluation score	Standard deviation
Japanese	4.20	0.392
Chinese	4.19*	0.397
Korean	3.64	0.458

(mean evaluation score of 7 = the most favourable evaluation)

Table 32 indicates that, in general, favourable evaluations (evaluations above 4.0) were elicited from the Chinese and Japanese informants (M = 4.19 and M = 4.20 respectively). However, the Korean informants accorded generally negative evaluations to all five speakers (M = 3.64). Figure 6 presents the average mean evaluations for all speakers according to the nationality of the informants (as shown in Table 32 above) in graph form. Significant differences are highlighted with an asterisk and in bold typeface.

Figure 6: Average mean evaluation scores for all five speakers according to the nationality of the informants



In order to determine whether the differences between each informant group's mean evaluation scores for all speakers were significant, the mean evaluation scores were subjected to a one-way ANOVA (see Section 5.2.1.3), with the mean evaluation score included as the dependent variable, and the nationality of the informants (x3: Chinese, Japanese, Korean) selected as the independent variable.

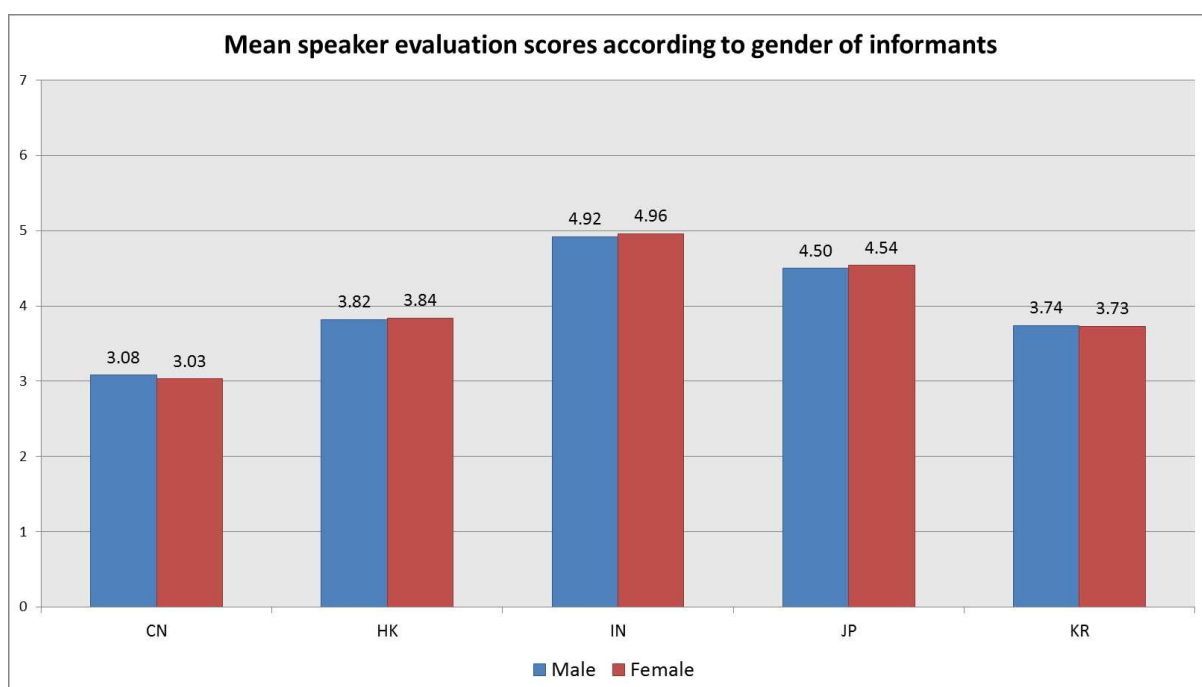
The results of the one-way ANOVA reached statistical significance $F(2, 551) = 106.599, p < .05$ ($p = .00$). Post-hoc tests revealed that, when alphas were Bonferroni adjusted, the Korean informants' overall evaluations towards all five speakers were significantly lower than that of the Chinese and the Japanese informants. The conclusions for the significantly lower evaluations elicited by the Korean informants are discussed in Section 6.4.1.

5.2.2.2 Gender

Using multivariate tests with a Bonferroni adjusted alpha, the gender of informants was not found to have a statistically significant effect on the evaluation of the speakers, $F(5, 500) = 1.171$, $p > .05$ ($p = .322$) Wilk's Lambda = .988.

Figure 7 provides the mean evaluation score for each speaker according to gender, demonstrating that the gender of informants (male: $n = 246$, female: $n = 309$) did not have a significant effect upon the evaluation of the speakers.

Figure 7: Mean evaluation score for each speaker comparison according to gender of informants ($N = 554$)



On inspection of Figure 7, the relative similarity with which male and female informants evaluated the speakers in the present study is apparent. Findings regarding gender and language attitudes are widely documented, with widespread evidence that females tend to evaluate prestigious language varieties more favourably whereas males tend to evaluate non-standard vernacular varieties more favourably (Hoare, 2000; Labov, 1972; Milroy & Milroy, 1998; Trudgill, 1974). Research among Japanese informants (Starks & Paltridge, 1996; McKenzie, 2008a; 2010) and Chinese (Hong Kong)

informants (Lai, 2007) has also confirmed that females are more favourable of prestigious language varieties.

Previous language attitude studies that have investigated gender as an independent variable have shown that females tend to evaluate speakers higher than males on status-related traits (McKenzie, 2010). In the present study, even in the case of the IN speaker, who was unanimously misidentified as a native speaker of English, the difference between female and male informants' evaluations was not significant. The similarity in the evaluations of males and females in the present study suggests that, when judging non-native speakers of English, differences in the way that males and females evaluate speakers may not exist. In consideration of previous findings, one possible reason why gender of the informants may not affect speaker evaluations in the present study is that the informants may not consider the speaker varieties presented in the study in terms of status.

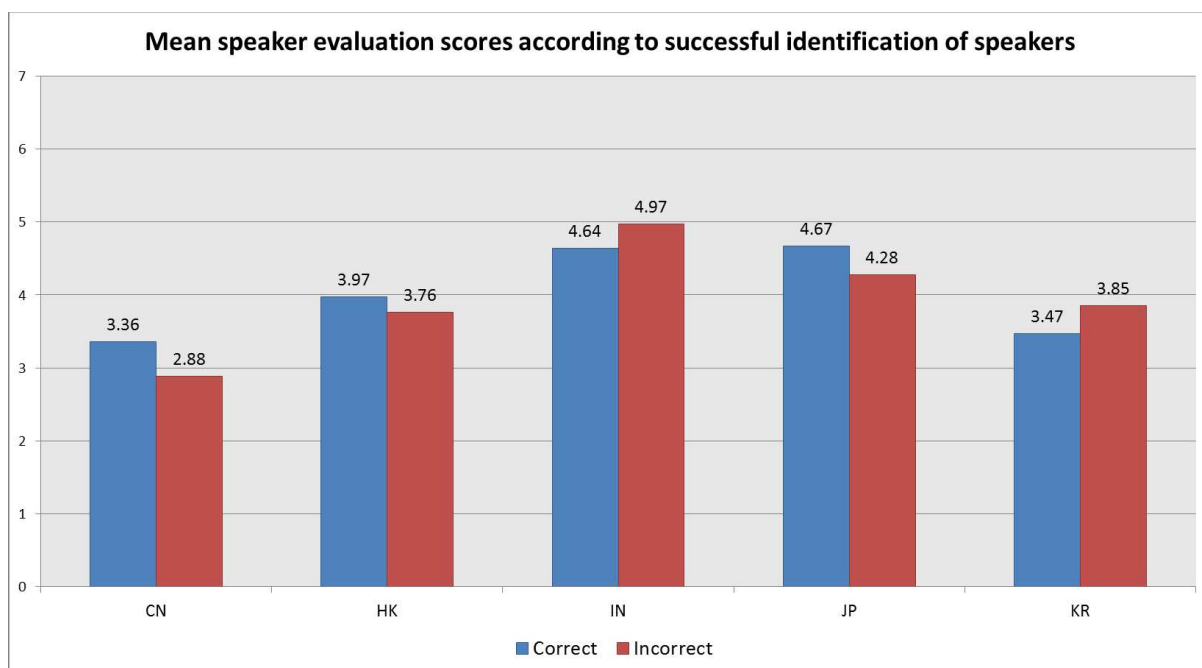
It is worth highlighting that in the present study only female speakers were presented, but inclusion of both male and female speakers as stimuli would be expected to yield different results. For instance, a study by Cargile, Takai & Rodriguez (2006) among Japanese undergraduates found that female speakers of both mainstream US English and African American Vernacular English were accorded higher speaker evaluations than male speakers. The findings of informants' gender as an independent variable is discussed in more depth in Section 6.4.2.

5.2.2.3 Ability to identify speakers

Research question five (see Section 4.2) aims to investigate the possible effect of (mis)identification patterns upon the speaker evaluations. In order to address the research question, the results of the MANOVA test (see Section 5.2.2) are presented below.

The ability of informants to identify speakers was not found to have a statistically significant effect on the evaluation of the speakers, $F(25, 1858.919) = .975$, $p > .05$ ($p = .498$), Wilk's Lambda = .953. Figure 8 presents the mean evaluation scores of each speaker according to whether the country of origin of each speaker was correctly identified or not.

Figure 8: Mean evaluation score for each speaker comparison according to whether informants could correctly identify speakers' country of origin or not



Although informants' ability to identify speakers was not found to have a statistically significant effect upon the speaker evaluations, observations can be made based upon the trends observed regarding the informants' successful identification of each speaker, as shown in Figure 8 above. Generally, successful identification resulted in higher evaluations for three speakers, the CN speaker, the HK speaker and the JP speaker. These findings are consistent with arguments that evaluations may be dependent upon listeners' certainty over a speaker's group membership (Ryan, 1983; Nesdale & Rooney, 1996).

However, in the present study, the KR and IN speakers received a lower evaluation when they were successfully identified. Examining the perceived group membership reveals more about the IN speaker, who the majority of informants perceived to be a native speaker of English (see Table 13), primarily a speaker from the USA or the UK, which may have led to a higher evaluation consistent with findings that native speakers (and speakers perceived to be native speakers) receive higher evaluations (Jarvella *et al.*, 2001; McKenzie, 2008b, 2010; Zhang & Hu, 2008). Thus, the higher evaluations accorded to the IN speaker when incorrectly identified (see Figure 8), may be a result of informants' misidentification of the IN speaker as a native speaker of English.

The lower evaluation of the KR speaker when the speaker was successfully identified is more curious; the KR speaker was not perceived to be a native speaker of English. In fact, the vast majority of informants (75.8%, $n = 420$) correctly categorised the KR speaker as originating from a non-native English speaking country, and nearly half of the informants labelled the KR speaker as from a country in Eastern Asia (44.6%, $n = 247$). Examining the identification rate according to the nationality of informants (see Table 11) reveals that only the Korean informants could consistently identify the speaker as Korean (63.1%, $n = 113$), and when analysed for differences between the evaluations of informants according to nationality, the Korean informants gave significantly lower evaluations to the KR speaker ($M = 3.25$) than both the Chinese informants ($M = 3.84$) and the Japanese informants ($M = 4.08$), who did not differ significantly in their evaluations. Thus, the generally lower evaluations accorded to the KR speaker when correctly identified as Korean (see Figure 8), were likely to have been a result of the lower evaluations given by the Korean informants (see Figure 5), who were generally able to correctly identify the KR speaker as Korean. Further conclusions are drawn regarding Korean informants low evaluations of the KR speaker in Section 6.4.1.

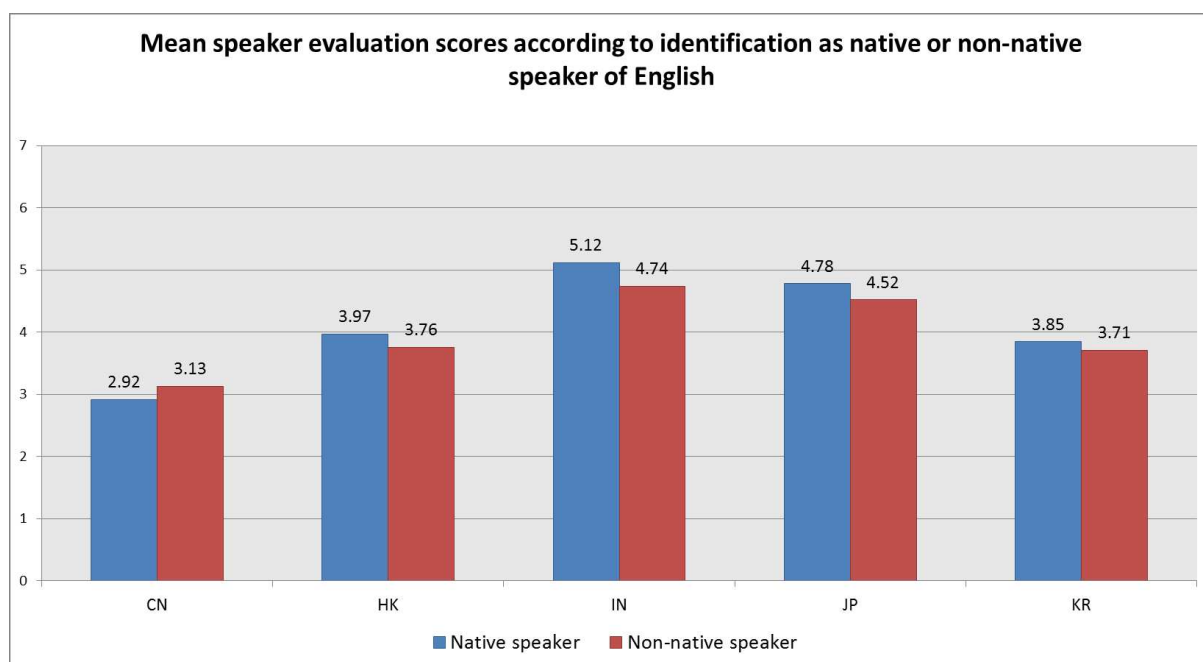
5.2.2.4 Misidentification of speakers as native speakers of English

In order to investigate the possible effect of native/non-native speaker identification upon speaker evaluations (which was deemed to give more understanding in answering research question five (see Section 4.2), a second MANOVA was conducted substituting the ability to identify speakers for the misidentification rate of speakers as native speakers of English. The overall mean evaluation scores for each speaker were included as dependent variables (x_5 : IN, JP, HK, KR, CN), and the independent variables selected were: the nationality of the informants (x_3 : Chinese, Japanese, Korean), gender (x_2 : male, female), the tendency for informants to misidentify speakers as native speakers of English (x_6 : informants that perceived five speakers to be native speakers of English, four, three, two, one and none). For descriptive statistics see Section 5.1.

The tendency for informants to misidentify speakers as native speakers of English was found to have no statistically significant effect upon speaker evaluations: $F(25, 1858.919) = 1.123$, $p > .05$ ($p = .306$), Wilk's Lambda = .946. The bar chart (Figure 9) shows a comparison of the mean

evaluation scores for each speaker according to whether informants perceived the speakers to be native or non-native speakers of English.

Figure 9: Mean evaluation scores for each speaker comparison according to whether informants perceived speakers to be native or non-native speakers of English



As can be seen from Figure 9, all but one speaker (CN) was generally rated higher if informants perceived the speakers to be native speakers of English. This finding is consistent with previous research, which posits that native speakers of English (and speakers perceived to be native speaker of English) are accorded higher evaluations (Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto, 1995; Jarvella et al, 2001; Jørgensen & Quist, 2001; McKenzie, 2008b, 2010). However, while the present study showed a difference, it is important to highlight that the difference was not statistically significant.

The higher evaluation of the CN speaker when identified as a non-native speaker of English can be explained by the high successful identification rate of the CN speaker among the Chinese informants, which resulted in higher evaluations due to ingroup bias (see Table 10 & Figure 5).

It is perhaps worthwhile to consider the potential influence of the variations of the individual voices upon the categorisation of the speakers as native/non-native speakers of English. Since the speakers were chosen as representative of typical speakers of English from each country by listeners who shared the speakers' country of origin, there was no attempt to control for speech rate (see Section 4.7). However, it must be taken into consideration that these variations in speech may have been a factor in the evaluation of the speakers. Table 33 shows the overall ranking (in descending order), mean evaluation and speech rate of each of the speakers.

Table 33: Overall Ranking, mean evaluation and speech rate of each speaker

Overall Ranking	Speaker	Mean evaluation	Words/min
1	IN	4.64	182.7
2	JP	4.52	84.4
3	HK	3.83	112.4
4	KR	3.74	88.2
5	CN	3.06	126.7

It is clear from Table 33 that the IN speaker had the fastest speech rate by some distance, followed by the CN speaker and the HK speaker, with the KR and JP speakers speaking at a slower speech rate. Examining the speech rates, it is possible that the IN speaker was identified as a native speaker of English due to the much faster rate relative to the other speakers. This may have contributed to the higher evaluation given to the IN speaker by all informants. It appears however, that the speech rate for the remaining speakers may not have affected the evaluations, with the JP speaker rated significantly higher than the HK, KR and CN speakers regardless of speech rate. However, it is possible that the speech rate was a determinant in the identification of the individual speakers (see Section 5.1.3). See Section 6.1 for a discussion of the implicit attitudes towards the speakers and possible determinants.

The statistical analyses conducted in Section 5.2.2 to investigate possible effects of independent variables (nationality; gender; identification rate) are discussed in Chapter 6, where each research question is addressed individually. Section 6.4 discusses research question four, which concerns the possible effects of nationality and gender upon speaker evaluations, and Section 6.5 discusses the possible effects of identification/misidentification of the speakers upon the speaker evaluations.

5.2.3 Interaction effects between independent variables upon speaker evaluations

The MANOVAs presented in section 5.2.2 identified some interaction effects between two or more independent variables. An interaction effect occurs when the effect of one independent variable (e.g. nationality, gender, identification rate) on the dependent variable (e.g. speaker evaluations) depends upon another independent variable (e.g. nationality, gender, identification rate). The presence of an interaction effect would thus lead one to reconsider the main effect (found in Section 5.2.2) and would require further investigation. The following section will outline the significant interaction effects.

5.2.3.1 Two-way interactions

Nationality and ability to identify speakers

An interaction effect was found between the nationality of the informants and the ability of the informants to correctly identify speakers: $F(35, 2105.740) = 1.438$, $p < .05$ ($p = .047$), Wilk's $\Lambda = .956$, partial eta squared = .020, which indicates a small effect size.

However, when dependent variables were considered separately, no interaction effects were found for any of the speakers.

In order to investigate the interaction effect further, the nationality of the informants was selected as a focal independent variable, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the ability to identify the speakers was moderating the independent variable. In other words, for one or more of the Chinese, the Japanese or the Korean informant groups, was the ability to identify the speakers a significant factor when evaluating the speakers?

A MANOVA (see Section 5.2.2) was thus conducted for each informant group separately (i.e. according to the nationality of the speakers). The results are presented below.

The Chinese informants

No significant effect was found between the ability to identify the speakers and the speaker evaluations: $F(25, 581.02) = 0.864$, $p > 0.05$ ($p = 0.657$). Thus, it was concluded that for the Chinese informants, the speaker evaluations were not dependent upon their ability to identify the speakers.

The Korean informants

No significant effect was found between the ability to identify the speakers and the speaker evaluations: $F(20, 531.61) = 1.062$, $p > 0.05$ ($p = 0.387$). Thus, it was concluded that for the Korean informants, the speaker evaluations were not dependent upon their ability to identify the speakers.

The Japanese informants

Tests indicated that there was a significant effect between the ability to identify the speakers and the speaker evaluations: $F(15, 524.91) = 1.776$, $p < 0.05$ ($p = 0.035$), partial eta squared = 0.045, which indicated a small effect size. Thus, it was concluded that, for the Japanese informants, the ability to identify the speakers had a small but significant effect upon their evaluations of the speakers.

A test of between-subjects effects indicated that the ability to identify the speakers had a significant effect upon the evaluations of two of the speakers provided as speech stimuli for the present study. The significant differences are listed below:

- (i) The HK speaker: $F(3, 194) = 3.681$, $p < 0.05$ ($p = 0.013$), partial eta squared = 0.054, which indicated a small-medium effect size. An inspection of pairwise comparisons and mean scores indicated that the Japanese informants that could correctly identify 1 speaker of English ($n = 49$ from 203) accorded a higher evaluation to the HK speaker ($M = 3.88$) than those that could identify 2 speakers of English ($n = 125$ from 203, $M = 3.46$). A plot of the mean evaluations for the HK speaker according to the informants' ability to correctly identify the speaker's country of origin is provided in Figure 16, Appendix G.

- (ii) The KR speaker: $F(3, 194) = 2.666$, $p < 0.05$ ($p = 0.049$), partial eta squared = 0.040, which indicated a small effect size. An inspection of pairwise comparisons and mean scores indicated that, when dependent variables were considered separately, no significant differences were found between the ability to identify the speakers, and the evaluation of individual speakers of English presented in the study. Inspection of the profile plot (see Figure 17, Appendix G) revealed that the only notable difference in the mean evaluations was between the informants who could not identify any speakers ($M = 4.61$), and the informants who could identify only one speaker ($M = 4.09$). However, since there were only 12 informants who could not identify any speakers (compared to the 125 informants who could identify one speaker), this value was felt to be unreliable. Thus, the “significant” difference found for the Japanese informants’ evaluations of the KR speaker was not investigated further.

As detailed above, the HK speaker was found to be evaluated significantly lower by the Japanese informants who could correctly identify two speakers of English ($M = 3.46$) than the Japanese informants who could correctly identify only one speaker of English ($M = 3.88$) (see Figure 16, Appendix G, for plot of mean evaluations). Possible reasons for this significant difference are discussed below.

An inspection of the identification rates (see Table 11) revealed that, generally, in comparison with the Chinese and the Korean informants, it was more difficult for the Japanese informants to identify more than one speaker. When the Japanese informants could identify only one speaker of English, it tended to be the speaker from their own nationality. Indeed, 93.6% ($n = 190$, from 203) of the Japanese informants could correctly identify the JP speaker (see Table 11). The second most accurate identification rate for the Japanese informants was the HK speaker with 14.8% ($n = 30$) identifying the speaker correctly, followed by the KR speaker who was identified by 12.3% ($n = 25$) of the informants. In order to investigate the significant difference, it was felt useful to examine the

identification rates of, and the mean evaluations accorded by, the Japanese informants who could correctly identify one speaker and the Japanese informants who could identify two speakers.

In the case of the Japanese informants who could only identify one speaker ($n = 125$, ID1 hereafter), 99.2% ($n = 124$) correctly identified the JP speaker of English. None of the ID1 group could correctly identify the HK speaker of English. Over half (57.6%, $n = 72$) of the ID1 informants perceived the HK speaker to be a non-native speaker of English (NNS), meaning that 42.4% ($n = 53$) perceived the speaker to be a native speaker of English (NS). Moreover, the HK speaker was accorded a higher evaluation when perceived to be a NS ($M = 4.01$) than when she was perceived to be a NNS ($M = 3.76$).

The Japanese informants who could correctly identify two speakers of English ($n = 49$, ID2 hereafter) were able to correctly identify the JP speaker plus one other, generally the HK speaker (51.0%, $n = 25$), or the KR speaker (26.5%, $n = 13$). 77.6% ($n = 38$) of the informants in ID2 perceived the HK speaker to be a NNS, a much higher proportion than in ID1 (57.6%, $n = 72$, see above). This indicates that for informants who could only identify the JP speaker of English, the speakers who were unfamiliar to the informants were more likely to be labelled as NS than if the informants could identify two (or more) speakers of English. In the case of the HK speaker, 51.0% ($n = 25$) of the ID2 informants correctly identified the HK speaker as Chinese, 26.5% ($n = 13$) of the informants perceived the speaker as an 'other NNS' (i.e. not from China), and 22.4% ($n = 11$) perceived the speaker to be a NS. Informants in ID2 who correctly identified the HK speaker as Chinese gave a mean evaluation of 3.52, which is significantly lower than the mean evaluation accorded to the HK speaker by the ID1 group ($M = 3.88$). This raises the question of whether the HK speaker was evaluated lower by the ID2 group because she was specifically perceived to be from China. However, when the speaker was perceived to be an 'other' NNS she was accorded lower evaluations ($M = 3.30$) than when she was perceived to be Chinese ($M = 3.52$). The lower evaluation for the perceived 'other' NNS suggests that being perceived as Chinese was not the main cause of the lower evaluation, but perhaps being perceived as a NNS in general had resulted in the lower evaluation.

In summary, the interaction effect indicated that the HK speaker was evaluated significantly higher by the Japanese informants who could only identify one speaker than the Japanese informants who could correctly identify two speakers. An analysis of the identification rates and mean evaluations suggested that the Japanese informants could easily identify the JP speaker of English, but identification of the other four speakers was challenging. In particular, the HK speaker was often misidentified as native speaker of English, and as a result received a higher evaluation, consistent with the findings of previous studies that found that perceived native speakers of English were accorded higher evaluations than perceived non-native speakers of English among Japanese informants (Rivers, 2011). In contrast, informants that could identify the JP speaker plus one other had a greater tendency to label the HK speaker as a non-native speaker of English, and this resulted in a lower evaluation. Thus, it is possible to conclude that, for the Japanese informants, a general unfamiliarity with a range of English speaker varieties is more likely to result in speakers being labelled as native speakers of English. Moreover, the Japanese informants evaluated speakers they perceived to be native speaker of English higher than speakers they perceived to be non-native speakers of English.

Nationality and misidentification as native speakers of English

No interaction was found between the nationality of the informants and whether the informants misidentified speakers to be native speakers of English: $F(40, 2182.244)$, $p > .05$ ($p = .340$), Wilk's $\Lambda = .918$.

Nationality and gender

No interaction effect was found between nationality of the informants and the stated gender of informants: $F(10, 1000) = 1.110$, $p > .05$ ($p = .351$), Wilk's $\Lambda = .978$.

Gender and ability to identify speakers

No interaction effect was found between gender of the informants and the informants' ability to correctly identify a speaker: $F(10, 1000) = 1.110$, $p > .05$ ($p = .351$), Wilk's $\Lambda = .978$.

5.2.3.2 Three-way interactions

Nationality, ability to identify speakers and gender

No three-way interaction was found between informants' nationality, informants' ability to correctly identify speakers and informants' gender: $F(30, 2002) = 1.002$, $p > .05$ ($p = .463$), Wilk's Lambda = .942.

Nationality and misidentification as native speaker of English

No three-way interaction was found between informants' nationality, informants' misidentification of speakers as native speakers of English and informants' gender: $F(30, 2002) = .736$, $p > .05$ ($p = .849$), Wilk's Lambda = .957.

5.2.3.3 Summary of interaction effects

The initial test for main effect indicated that there was no significant effect between the speaker evaluations and the ability to identify the speakers. The existence of an interaction effect between the nationality of the informants and ability to identify the speakers perhaps suggests that the test for the main effect was to be interpreted tentatively. Further investigation revealed that there was a small but significant difference between the Japanese informants' evaluations and their ability to identify speakers, where higher evaluations tended to be accorded when informants misidentified the speakers as native speakers of English. No significant effect was found between the speaker evaluations and the ability to identify speakers for either the Chinese informants or the Korean informants. This suggests that, for the Japanese informants, the native/non-native distinction is perhaps more important in evaluating speakers of English. Moreover, the Japanese informants may be less familiar with non-native speaker varieties of English than the Chinese and the Korean informants. This conclusion is further supported by the identification rates (see Table 11), which indicated that the Chinese and the Korean informants were generally more adept at correctly identifying the speakers than the Japanese informants. Due to the relatively small effect size of the interaction effect, and the fact that a significant difference was only found for the HK speaker and the ability of the Japanese informants to identify one or two speakers of English, it was decided that the main effect should not be entirely discounted. Nevertheless, the possible effect of the

informants' ability to correctly identify speakers upon the mean evaluations accorded should be interpreted with particular caution.

5.3 Part Three: Direct attitude experiment

Research question two aimed to investigate the explicit attitudes of Chinese, Japanese and Korean university students towards people from China, Japan and Korea (see Section 4.2). In order to measure explicit attitudes, a research instrument was adapted from previous perceptual dialectology experiments (see Section 2.4.2), which asked informants to describe the personality of a person from each of the three countries, and to comment upon the way in which English is spoken by members of each national group.

The informants were not given any specific instructions on how they were to do this, although they were told that sentences were not necessary, not to worry about their grammar, and were specifically informed that the task was not a test of English ability. They were also told that it was fine to use a dictionary if they were unsure of an English word. These instructions had two purposes: firstly, this was to relax the students who may have been self-conscious about completing the task in English. Secondly, advising the informants not to write in sentences where possible resulted in a greater number of one-word descriptions (i.e. adjectives), which helped to further categorise the data (see Section 4.9 for description of the survey procedure).

In total, 3978 descriptions were elicited from the 554 informants. However, the vast majority of the descriptions provided only occurred once among all informants. In order to analyse the responses, the frequency of the descriptions were calculated using a keyword search in order to identify descriptions that occurred the most number of times. There are limitations to this method, however, since some descriptions may have similar meanings e.g. *unconfident* and *shy*. However, since each set of similar words are not true synonyms (and may differ in connotation in the first language of the informants), it was decided to present the words as they were written by the informants. Nevertheless, descriptions were re-categorised if it was clear that meanings were the same e.g. *quick-tempered*; *hot-tempered*; *fast-tempered*, all of which were amalgamated into one adjective, *quick-tempered*.

5.3.1 Describing the personality of a person from China, Japan and Korea

5.3.1.1 Descriptions of Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups

Table 34 presents the top ten descriptions used by the informants to describe a person either from China, Japan, or Korea.

Table 34: Ranking and Number of Occurrences of Descriptions for Chinese, Korean and Japanese national groups

Ranking	Description	No. of occurrences
1	kind	182
2	polite	173
3	*friendly	146
4	shy	99
5	hard-working	90
6	*confident	71
7	selfish	60
8	modest	58
9	*unconfident	51
10	noisy	50

*appeared in verbal guise evaluative scale

Table 34 shows that the most oft-used adjective to describe a person either from China, Japan or Korea was *kind*, which occurred 182 times among the 554 informants. It is worth noting here that the adjective could occur up to three times per informant, since three describing tasks were provided in the survey.

The adjectives above cover overall descriptions of the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean national groups. However, in order to further understand the explicit attitudes of the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informants towards each other, it is necessary to present the adjectives that reoccurred for each national group (see Table 35). Due to the large volume of descriptions provided, only the top ten descriptions are presented for each national group. It is also believed that descriptions that occurred more frequently reflect stronger attitudes and/or more salient stereotypes

among the informant groups, and beyond the top ten frequently elicited descriptions, repeated occurrences are few. Occurrences of the descriptions elicited are presented in descending order. Descriptions that were elicited by more than one national group are italicised.

Table 35: Ranking and number of occurrences of descriptions for each national group (Chinese, Japanese and Korean)

Rank	(towards) Chinese (n)	(towards) Japanese (n)	(towards) Korean (n)
1	friendly 67	<i>polite</i> 114	<i>friendly</i> 38
2	<i>noisy</i> 46	<i>kind</i> 107	<i>kind</i> 37
3	hard-working 37	<i>shy</i> 58	<i>polite</i> 37
4	<i>loud</i> 34	<i>quiet</i> 37	fast 36
5	<i>selfish</i> 28	<i>serious</i> 36	<i>quick-tempered</i> 27
6	<i>confident</i> 27	<i>hard-working</i> 27	<i>confident</i> 20
7	dirty 27	<i>friendly</i> 27	fashionable 18
8	modest 25	cute 19	patriotic 17
9	kind 23	calm 17	traditional 16
10	polite 20	gentle 13	passionate 13

Descriptions presented in italics were elicited by two or more of the informant nationality groups

Table 35 presents the ten most frequent descriptions for Chinese, Japanese and Korean nationals. The descriptions suggest that, with seven from the top ten descriptions common across all three informant national groups, and the high frequency of occurrence, explicit attitudes towards Japanese nationals were particularly stereotypical, which supports the *self-categorisation theory* that when group membership is salient, outgroups and ingroups are viewed as more homogeneous and in terms of stereotypical characteristics (see Section 2.2). Similarly, five from the top ten descriptions of Korean nationals were elicited from more than one of the informant national groups, though the frequency of occurrence was generally lower than the descriptions of the Japanese national group.

For the Japanese and the Korean national groups, descriptions tended to focus upon themes of *politeness*, *kindness* and *friendliness*. In contrast, many of the descriptions towards the Chinese national group (at least those that were elicited by more than one informant nationality group) were

rather negative, focusing on *volume*, and *selfishness*, though also frequently described as *friendly* and *hard-working*. It is worth noting that, for the Chinese national group, descriptions presented in italics were elicited from both the Japanese and Korean informants, and the remaining descriptions were provided by the Chinese informants only. A breakdown of the ten most frequent descriptions of Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups according to the nationality of the informants is presented in Table 36. Descriptions are presented in descending order, where the figure represents the percentage of each group of informants who provided each description. Attitudes towards informants' own national groups are highlighted in a corresponding colour.

5.3.1.2 Descriptions according to nationality

Table 36: Ranking and percentage of descriptions for personalities of people from China, Japan and Korea according to nationality of informants

	(towards) Chinese		(towards) Japanese		(towards) Korean	
	Description	%	Description	%	Description	%
Chinese attitudes (n = 172)	*friendly	39.0	polite	34.9	polite	15.1
	hard-working	21.5	serious	12.8	fashionable	10.5
	modest	14.5	hard-working	9.9	traditional	9.3
	kind	13.4	*friendly	9.3	arrogant	8.1
	polite	11.6	aggressive	7.6	confident	7.0
	shy	11.6	*confident	7.0	*cute	5.8
	*unconfident	11.6	*unfriendly	6.4	*friendly	5.8
	traditional	9.3	arrogant	5.8	patriotic	5.8
	outgoing	7.0	careful	5.8	shy	5.8
	honest	6.4	strict	5.2	outgoing	5.2
Japanese attitudes (n = 203)	selfish	7.4	shy	22.2	*friendly	7.9
	aggressive	6.9	kind	21.7	kind	5.4
	*confident	6.9	modest	10.3	aggressive	4.4
	loud	4.9	quiet	9.6	*confident	3.9
	noisy	4.9	polite	7.9	strong	3.9
	liar	3.4	gentle	7.4	patriotic	3.5
	quick-tempered	3.4	serious	6.9	proud	3.5
	strong	3.4	diligent	4.9	quick-tempered	3.5
	violent	3.4	hard-working	4.9	*energetic	3.0
	arrogant	3.0	negative	4.9	hard-working	3.0
Korean attitudes (n = 179)	noisy	20.0	kind	35.2	**fast	20.1
	dirty	15.1	polite	21.2	kind	14.5
	loud	13.4	*cute	10.6	quick-tempered	11.1
	*confident	7.3	calm	9.5	passionate	7.3
	selfish	7.3	quiet	9.5	busy	6.7
	**fast	4.5	hidden	7.3	*friendly	6.7
	slow	4.5	shy	7.3	hurried	6.7
	*unfriendly	4.5	*friendly	6.1	impatient	6.7
	unkind	4.5	peaceful	5.0	polite	6.1
	lazy	3.9	silent	5.0	*energetic	3.9

*also appeared in semantic differential scale for the speech evaluation experiment

** often used by Koreans to describe somebody who is impatient or in a hurry

Table 36 presents the ten most frequent descriptions towards Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups according to the nationality of the informants. The Japanese and the Korean national groups received generally favourable descriptions, focusing on themes of *politeness*, *kindness* and *friendliness*. The Japanese national group in particular was also described in terms of work ethic (*hard-working*, *diligent*). Descriptions of Korean nationals made reference to volatile temperament (*quick-tempered*, *aggressive*), and it is interesting to note that the Korean informants were more inclined to describe their own nationality group in negative terms (*fast*, *quick-tempered*, *hurried*, *impatient*). Although the Chinese national group received frequent favourable descriptions from the Chinese informants, both the Japanese and Korean informants described Chinese nationals in generally negative terms (*noisy*, *loud*, *selfish*, *dirty*, *aggressive*, *liar*, *quick-tempered*, *unfriendly*, *unkind*, *lazy*, *violent*, and *arrogant*). A discussion of the possible rationale for such negative descriptions is presented in Section 6.2.

The high frequency of certain descriptions given for each national group seen in Table 36 supports Tajfel's (1978) social identity theory (see Section 2.2.2), suggesting that as group membership becomes salient, outgroup homogeneity is enhanced. In other words, for the present study, where national boundaries have become salient (through the use of a map task – See Appendix C), stereotypical judgments were made about each national group. It is also evident from the description of each informant's own national group that informants have self-stereotyped, thus indicating a depersonalisation of personal identity (see Section 2.2.2). This also supports Turner's (1982) self-categorisation theory that members of a group are also likely to view their ingroup in terms of stereotypical characteristics.

5.3.1.3 Quantifying descriptions for analysis

Research question two (see Section 4.2 for detailed list of research questions) aimed to investigate whether the explicit attitudes presented above had an effect upon the implicit attitudes elicited in the speech evaluation experiment (see Section 5.2 for speaker evaluations). In order to analyse the data it was first necessary to quantify the descriptions. Since the descriptions elicited for the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean national groups were extremely varied and did not always reflect the adjectives provided in the semantic differential scale for the speech evaluation

experiment (see Section 4.7.6), it was decided that categorising descriptions into positive and negative attitudes was the most practical method for analysis. Thus, a positive description was given a score of +1, and a negative description a score of -1.

Due to the nature of the task, it was sometimes difficult to infer which comments were intended as negative and which were intended as positive e.g. *traditional*, the inference of which could depend on subjective preference or sociocultural beliefs (e.g. to be traditional for one person may mean commendably upholding cultural values, but for another may mean a resistance to change or to modernise). Furthermore, a large number of comments were descriptive rather than attitudinal e.g. *'tall'*, *'eat kimchi'*. These ambiguous (in terms of valence) or descriptive comments were therefore given a score of 0.

A sum score was calculated for the positive (+1), negative (-1) and neutral/ambivalent (0) attitudes according to the nationality of the informants, and their attitudes towards each national group. Thus, a positive score indicates a greater number of positive descriptions elicited overall than negative descriptions, and a negative score indicates a greater number of negative descriptions elicited overall. A score of zero indicates an equal number of positive and negative descriptions.

Table 37 shows informants' explicit attitudes towards the three national groups according to the nationality of the informants. Each informant group's attitude towards their own nationality group is highlighted in a corresponding colour for the reader's information.

Table 37: Scores for positive/negative descriptions for each of the Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups according to nationality of informants (negative scores equal negative descriptions, higher numbers equal more occurrences)

Nationality of informants ↓	(towards) China	(towards) Japan	(towards) Korea	Total (by)
China (n = 172)	273	34	105	412
Japan (n = 203)	-133	108	32	7
Korea (n = 179)	-164	74	75	-15
Total (towards)	-24	216	212	404

In Table 37, the total (towards) score shows the overall valence (i.e. positivity/negativity) of the descriptions received for each national group. The total (towards) score therefore reveals that descriptions for the Chinese national group were generally negative, and the descriptions for the Japanese and the Korean national groups were almost equally positive. The total (by) figure shows the valence of the descriptions given according to each informant group. The Chinese informants used the most positive descriptions overall (by some distance), whereas the Japanese informants used similar numbers of positive and negative descriptions for the three national groups, and the Korean informants used more negative descriptions than positive.

A bar chart is provided below, which allows the reader to see at a glance the positive and negative direct attitudes towards a person from China, Korea and Japan according to the nationality of the informants.

Figure 10: Direct attitudes towards Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups according to nationality of informants

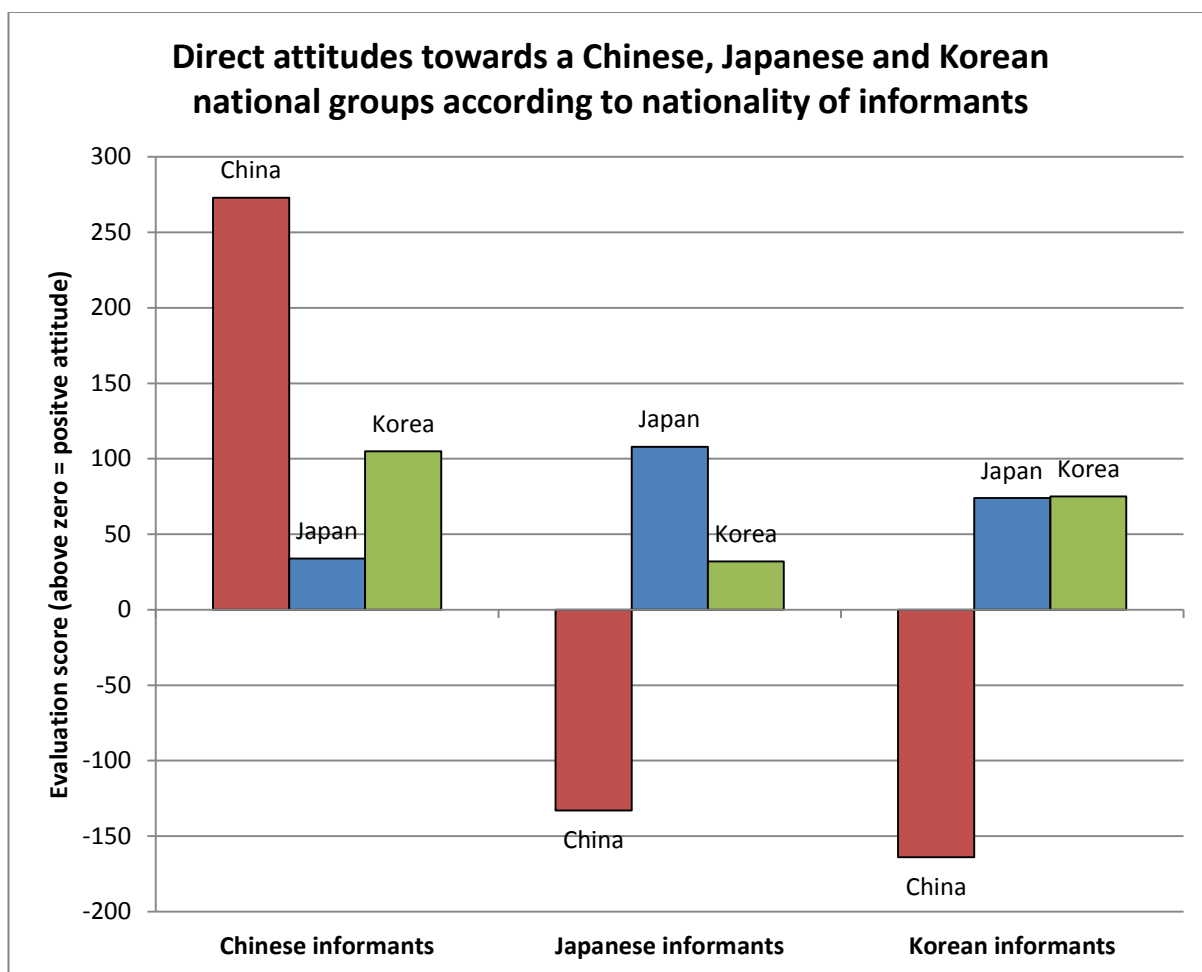


Figure 10 indicates that the Chinese informants described Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups most frequently in positive terms, with positive descriptions towards their own national group by far the strongest.

The Japanese informants also described their own national group most positively, along with the Korean national group, who received relatively favourable descriptions. However, the Japanese informants described the Chinese national group in mostly negative terms.

Since both of the Chinese and Japanese informants gave generally positive descriptions of their own national group, it can be concluded that, in accordance with Tajfel's *social identity theory* (see Section 2.2.) both the Chinese and the Japanese informants sought positive distinctiveness i.e. to differentiate positively between their ingroup – national identity – in comparison to outgroups – other national groups (See Section 2.2.1). Conversely, outgroups appear to be described in more

negative terms, thus downgrading the outgroup in comparison to the ingroup. Research in stereotypes (see Section 2.3.1) suggests that ingroup bias (a.k.a positive distinctiveness) results from the need to derive self-esteem through the group in which one considers themselves a member, which may be achieved by viewing one's ingroup in positive terms, and outgroups in negative terms. It is claimed that one of the functions of attitude formation is ego-defensive in nature (see Section 2.1.1) i.e. any potential threat from an outgroup may result in a focus upon group identity, which in turn manifests itself in favourable evaluations of the ingroup in comparison to an outgroup. Thus, it may be the case that, in the present study, the Chinese and Japanese informants may have given more positive descriptions of their own national group in order to gain self-esteem, perhaps as a result of a perceived threat to their identity posed by the other national groups presented in the study.

Korean informants also described the Chinese national group negatively. Furthermore, the Korean informants' attitudes towards their own national group were very similar to the attitudes they elicited towards the Japanese. This indicates that Korean informants were more ambivalent towards their own national group in comparison to the Chinese and the Japanese informants, who were notably more positive towards their own national group. This finding also mirrors the generally negative evaluations elicited by the Korean informants towards the KR speaker of English (Yook & Lindemann, 2013, see Section 3.1.2). Furthermore, as with the overall speaker evaluations (see Figure 6), Korean informants' explicit overall attitudes were the least positive among the three informants groups.

The relatively positive descriptions given by Korean informants towards other national groups suggests that there may have been an outgroup favouritism (see Section 2.2.1) for the Chinese and Japanese national groups over the Koreans' own national group. Previous studies have shown that ingroup favouritism can depend very much on context. Studies have shown, for instance, that when status inferiority is accepted, outgroup favouritism may be exhibited on status-relevant traits (see Section 2.2.1). In order to retain self-esteem however ingroup favouritism may manifest itself upon status-irrelevant traits. It may be possible, therefore, that Korean informants may have judged the Chinese and Japanese national groups along different dimensions than they did the Korean national

group. However, from the descriptions given, it appears that most descriptions were representative of the social attractiveness/solidarity dimension i.e. concerned with friendliness, kindness, temperament. Thus, it is difficult to ascertain how or why Korean informants may gain self-esteem without further investigation into different dimensions. Nevertheless, it may be worth considering, along with the relatively ambivalent descriptions given by the Korean informants, the significantly lower evaluations the Korean informants accorded to the Korean speaker of English in the speech evaluation task in comparison with the remaining speakers (see Section 5.2), in addition to the significantly low evaluations accorded to five speakers overall by the Korean informants in comparison to the Chinese and Japanese informants. Further discussion of possible reasons for the Korean informants downgrading their own national group are presented in Section 6.4.1.2, along with the possible effects and rationale for differences in the attitudes towards different national groups according to the nationality of the informants (See Section 6.4).

5.3.2 Main effects of direct attitudes upon speaker evaluation

In order to address research question two (see Section 4.2), a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to ascertain whether the explicit attitudes had an effect on the speaker evaluations (see Section 5.2.2 for an explanation of MANOVA and associated statistical tests). The overall mean evaluation scores for three speakers were included as dependent variables (x3: CN, JP, KR), and the independent variables selected were the sum total of informants' explicit attitudes towards Chinese, Japanese and Koreans (x3: positive, neutral/ambivalent, negative).

The total was calculated by summing the explicit attitude score of each informant towards the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean national groups, then categorising each informants' overall attitudes as positive, neutral/ambiguous, and negative (i.e. if an informant's overall explicit attitude resulted in a negative score once attitude towards each national group was combined, they were categorised as having a negative overall evaluation, and so on). Table 38 presents the descriptive statistics.

Table 38: Categorization of general attitudes of each informant (positive, neutral/ambiguous, negative) according to the overall descriptions elicited in the explicit attitude experiment

Attitude	Direct attitude score (sum total)
Positive	279
Neutral/ambiguous	86
Negative	189
Total (N)	554

Preliminary assumption tests were conducted to check for normality, linearity, univariate and multivariate outliers, homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices, and multicollinearity, with no serious violations noted.

During preliminary analysis, Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices indicated that the data did not violate the assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices ($p > .001$, $p = .066$). Similarly, Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances indicated that, with the exception of the CN speaker, the data did not violate the assumption of equality of variance for either of the dependent variables: $p > .05$, CN: .030; KR: .640; JP: .215. However, the violation of assumption for the CN speaker was considered acceptable due to the large sample size.

The results of the MANOVA are presented below:

5.3.2.1 Explicit attitudes

The explicit attitudes elicited by the informants were found to have a statistically significant effect upon the speaker evaluations: $F(6, 1098) = 6.657$, $p < .05$ ($p = .000$), Wilk's Lambda = .931, partial eta squared = .035, which indicates a small effect size.

When dependent variables (i.e. speakers) were considered separately, statistical significance was reached for two of the three speakers. The statistically significant values are listed below:

Multiple comparison tests (using a Bonferroni adjusted alpha) revealed that there were two significant differences. The significant differences are listed below:

- i) CN speaker: $F(2, 551) = 15.782$, $p < .05$ ($p = .000$), partial eta squared = .046, which indicates a small effect size. An inspection of multiple comparisons and the mean

scores indicated that informants that gave overall positive descriptions ($M = 3.22$) evaluated the CN speaker significantly higher than both informants that gave neutral/ambivalent descriptions ($M = 2.89$) and informants that gave negative descriptions ($M = 2.88$) (a means plot is presented in Appendix F)

- ii) KR speaker: $F(2, 551) = 3.524$, $p < .05$ ($p = .030$), partial eta squared = .013, which indicates a small effect size. An inspection of multiple comparisons and the mean scores reveal that informants that gave overall positive descriptions ($M = 3.80$) evaluated the KR speaker significantly higher than informants that were more neutral/ambivalent in their descriptions ($M = 3.54$). There was no significant difference between informants that gave generally positive description and informants that gave generally negative descriptions (a means plot is presented in Appendix F).

It can be concluded from the results that stereotypical attitudinal judgements of the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informants towards one another's national groups had a statistically significant effect upon speaker evaluations, where informants that described a national group in positive terms gave more positive evaluations of the speakers. This finding is consistent with the *social connotation hypothesis* (Trudgill & Giles, 1978) which posits that language attitudes (e.g. speaker evaluations) are a reflection of social connotations (e.g. stereotypes) held towards the a speaker's group membership (see Chapter 2). This finding is further discussed in Section 6.3.

5.3.3 Linguistic stereotypes

The direct attitude experiment also asked informants to comment upon the English spoken by people from China, Japan and Korea. It was believed that these comments would help to understand the identification rates of, and the attitudes towards, the different speakers of English presented in the speech evaluation experiment. The responses of the survey item were often attitudinal as well as descriptive. The following discussion presents the main trends in the comments provided, firstly towards informants' own variety of English, and secondly towards the

other two countries. Where possible, the comments of some informants are provided to illustrate the present author's interpretation for the reader. However, it must be noted that the comments provided are not exhaustive, and only a small number of comments were chosen to be included in the discussion.

5.3.3.1 Comments describing informants' own English abilities

In general, the Chinese informants tended to view English spoken in China with confidence. Many of the informants described English in China as '*fluent*', and '*clear*' e.g. '*I think it is the most clear in Asia*' (informant #53). There was a mixed response regarding the confidence exhibited by Chinese speakers of English, with some informants claiming that the Chinese were unconfident when speaking English. However, in general it appeared that the Chinese informants believed Chinese people to be confident in their English ability. Another common description of English in China was '*Chinglish*'/'*Chinenglish*' or '*the Chinese way*'. Comments suggested that English in China was thus seen as having a '*heavy accent*' (i.e. influenced by their mother tongue) and incorporating many Chinese words and/or phrases into their English speech. Some examples include: '*speak the way they like*' (#1), '*don't concentrate on the pronunciation*' (#42); '*basing on Chinese*' (#6); '*Chinese words*' (#66); '*there are some Putonghua in English*' (#106); '*when speaking English, Chinese always comes first*' (#126); '*some people speak English like speaking Chinese*' (#137). Due to the relative confidence in speaking English, and the many comments stating that English in China is often '*fluent*', it appeared to the author of the present study that the Chinese informants had a sense of pride in speaking English with Chinese characteristics i.e. by incorporating Chinese words/phrases and a Chinese accent into their English speech. In particular, it was interesting to note the general awareness the Chinese informants showed of the heterogeneity of English spoken *within* China. Comments that highlighted differences in China's English include: '*Actually, China is very big, even when they speak English still mix them with their accent of dialect*' (#154); '*some places people speak English with local accent*' (#111); '*different places of China have different accent*' (#117); '*Chinese speak English in different styles which split up by different location*' (#148); '*up to province, each province has different English accent. For example, Mandarin speakers cannot distinguish 's', 'z' and 'th', while in Jiangxi and some other*

southern provinces people no difference between ‘w’ and ‘v’ (#131). The general awareness of the different English speech forms in China (particularly with regards to accent) was also demonstrated in the identification task. The task asked informants to identify the ‘country of origin’ of each speaker, hence ‘China’ was considered correct for the HK speaker (see Section 5.1.3, for identification rates). Nevertheless, a small number of the Chinese informants provided more information than was necessary, specifying the CN speaker as ‘North China’ and/or the HK speaker as ‘South China’. In some cases, the HK speaker was identified specifically to be from Hong Kong. In addition, there was a case where an informant labelled the CN speaker’s home province (*Shānxī*) correctly. After the survey was completed, the author of the present study asked the informant what had prompted him to label the province of the speaker. The informant replied that he too was from *Shānxī*, so he was more familiar with the speaker’s pronunciation. Although the present study provided only one speaker variety per country (two in the case of China) (see Limitations – Section 7.2), the differences in English pronunciation within China, and the apparent awareness of these differences is an interesting avenue for further study.

The Japanese informants frequently exhibited anxiety in their use of English. A large number of comments specifically described Japanese people as ‘*unconfident*’ with speaking English. Many of the informants had a tendency to focus on the Japanese accent when speaking English: ‘*sounds like Japanese*’ (#416); ‘*accent is very close to katakana which one of the Japanese way to write and pronounce*’ (#683); ‘*difference of Japanese pronunciation*’ (#464); ‘*speak too Japanese way*’; (#649); ‘*English like katakana*’ (#413); ‘*speak vowel in Japanese*’ (#687). It is possible to interpret the aforementioned comments referring to ‘Japanese English’ as a source of anxiety, since many informants also described English in Japan as spoken with ‘*bad pronunciation*’. In particular, informants commented upon Japanese English as having ‘*no intonation*’ i.e. with no stress and/or a different rhythm to Standard English: ‘*monotonous*’ (#607); ‘*they speak clearly per syllables*’ (#499); ‘*speak separately words*’ (#463). The Japanese informants also generally described English in Japan as ‘*not fluent*’, and consisting of many hesitations: ‘*halting*’ (#600); ‘*cut sentence into words*’ (#681); ‘*faltering*’ (#911); ‘*it is unsteady*’ (#912); ‘*intermittent*’ (#619). As a result, it was claimed that Japanese people tend to speak English ‘*slowly*’ in order to sound more ‘*clear*’.

However, there was a general perception that slowing their speech down caused it to sound ‘unnatural’. A small number of the Japanese informants also highlighted some main difficulties in speaking English, such as pronunciation of ‘r’/‘l’, and ‘b’/‘v’. The Japanese informants’ anxiety regarding speaking English, however, also extended to general English ability, with a number of informants describing Japanese people as ‘unskillful’ at speaking English.

The Korean informants also appeared to feel anxious about speaking English. However, pronunciation did not seem to be as high a concern as it was among the Japanese informants, with many of the Korean informants commenting on Koreans’ ‘good pronunciation’. Indeed, Koreans’ English speech was often described as ‘American-style’ e.g. ‘very similar to America intonation/accent’ (#301), ‘they can speak English clearly like foreigner’ (#313); ‘some are similar with American (but other are speaking like Korean)’ (#351); ‘Korean can speak English very well, pronounce like American’ (#345); ‘pronunciation is exactly’ (#223). Furthermore, there was certainly a desire to speak with an American English accent: ‘they try to speak in English like Americans’ (#312); ‘mimic American’s way of talking’ (#246); ‘they accustomed with America’s pronunciation’ (#317). However, a number of informants did describe intonation as a problem for Koreans when speaking English: ‘when they speaking English they speak monotonous’ (#379); ‘monotonous voice’ (#204); ‘flat’ (#276); ‘they use the same intonation’ (#207); ‘they don’t have intonation’ (#238). The main cause of anxiety among Koreans about their English language skills, however, appeared to be their confidence, especially in speaking English (and especially with ‘foreigners’ i.e. native English speakers): ‘Korean has great ability to read and understand but they are not good at speak English’ (#801). Many of the informants described themselves as ‘unconfident’, or ‘shy’, and there was sufficient evidence to suggest that this was due to their anxiety about speaking ‘correctly’: ‘Koreans are shy when they try to speak English and feel afraid to be wrong’ (#368); ‘they actually know English a lot but they are worried about speaking and feel nervous’ (#370); ‘many people know English but have no confidence’ (# 334); ‘Koreans seems to lack confidence when they speak English, Koreans afraid to speak to foreigner’ (#353); ‘they think it must be perfect’ (#355); ‘try to be perfect but not confident’ (#804); ‘many people are unconfident using English and when meet foreigner their head didn’t work they try to perfect

grammar' (#272); *'try to think about grammar too much when they talk with a native speaker'* (#304); *'afraid of speaking in English'* (#205); *'afraid when something wrong'* (# 256); *'most of Korean may be very shame'* (# 273); *'most people are nervous'* (#321); *'when they say English they are so timid that they can't speak English well'* (#333). A number of comments specified problems with the pronunciation of the English phonemes /r/ and /f/, and that this is also a cause of concern among the Korean informants: *'we always try to pronounce /r/ sounds well'* (#221). Despite the anxiety displayed by many of the Korean informants, many of the comments suggested that Koreans did not view their English as the 'worst' among the three countries (China, Japan and Korea): *'better than Japan, but not China'* (#355); *'I think middle level in those 3 country'* (#240); *'they speak English is grammatically incorrect but I think Korea's pronounce is better than Japan or China'* (#367). Thus, it can be interpreted that, despite a relative amount of confidence in their English pronunciation (which was generally likened to American-style English), the Korean informants tended to feel afraid to speak English for fear of making mistakes, particularly with reference to grammar.

5.3.3.2 Comments describing the English abilities of the 'other' countries

Among the Japanese and the Korean informants, English in China was often complimented. The Korean informants described China's English as *'speaking is best in three countries'* (# 216), and among the Japanese informants it was described as *'better than Japan'* (#465). Both the Japanese and the Korean informants generally viewed English in China as *'fluent'*, *'fast'*, *'confident'* and *'loud'*. The Korean informants were favourable towards China's English *'good pronunciation'*, describing it as *'similar to USA pronunciation'* (#366); *'they are the closest pronunciation in three countries'* (#216); *'accent natural, they speak English better than the other countries'* (#267); *'they are good at some difficult pronunciation'* (#244); *'sh' and 'r's pronouncing is good'* (#264). Although, some of the Korean informants commented upon the Chinese characteristics of English, but again in a favourable light: *'they have impressive accent when they speak (sounds like Chinese)'* (#359); *'when they speak English they use melody like China'* (#272). A number of Korean informants, however, did express that they have never heard a Chinese person speaking English before, but those that had were relatively positive. The Japanese informants were more scathing

about Chinese pronunciation of English, describing it as ‘*bad pronunciation*’: ‘*speak like Chinese*’ (#637); ‘*strong like Chinese accent*’ (#649); ‘*pronunciation is bad*’ (#612) ‘*their speaking English is offensive*’ (#551). However, not all of the Japanese informants were unfavourable towards Chinese pronunciation of English: ‘*pronunciation is sweet*’ (#588); ‘*it is beautiful pronunciation*’ (#459); ‘*not good at speaking English but have confidence*’ (#678). Indeed, both the Japanese and the Korean informants considered China to speak English ‘*very well*’, regardless of any Chinese characteristics in their English speech. A number of comments suggested that the relatively greater English ability in China may be a result of perceived similarities in the structures of English and Chinese: ‘*they have the same order in their mother tongue like English so they learn it fast*’ (#218); ‘*I guess Chinese resemble English so they can speak English more deft than other Asia country*’ (#271).

Japan’s English received broadly negative comments from both the Chinese and the Korean informants, with the majority of the comments aimed at the Japanese pronunciation of English. Many of the informants described the Japanese English accent as a ‘*strong*’ or ‘*heavy*’ accent, with ‘*bad pronunciation*’ that ‘*sounded like they speak Japanese*’ (#9), had ‘*no intonation*’, and was ‘*unclear*’. The Korean informants described Japanese English as ‘*incorrect*’ and ‘*wrong*’, possibly as a result of a ‘*short tongue*’, and a lack of vowels within the Japanese language. Although some of the Chinese informants described Japanese pronunciation of English as ‘*cute*’ or ‘*lovely*’, in general it was denigrated as ‘*poor*’, ‘*strange*’ or, in some cases ‘*terrible*’, and perceived Japanese English pronunciation to have a notable effect upon their perceived clarity and intelligibility.

Comments from the Chinese and the Japanese informants indicated a general lack of familiarity with English as spoken by Koreans. Many of the Chinese informants claimed that they did not know, or had not heard a Korean speaking English. Nevertheless, (and even in cases when Chinese informants had voiced their unfamiliarity), informants were willing to rate Korea’s English higher than Japan’s English: ‘*I’m sorry I haven’t heard them speaking English before, better than Japanese*’ (#88); ‘*don’t know I sorry but better than Japanese*’ (#109); ‘*I’m not sure maybe between Japan and China*’ (#118); ‘*better than Japanese*’ (#131). It was also common for the

Chinese informants to use Japan's English as a reference to describe Korea's English: *'it's similar with Japanese'* (#54); *'slower than Japanese'* (#92); *'similar to Japanese, often keep their mouth open in a quite small extent'* (#121); *'mostly the same with Japan'* (#135); *'maybe a little like Japanese'* (#151); *'Korean English sounds like Japanese English'* (#152); *'the accent is lighter than Japanese'* (#155). The Chinese informants also tended to describe Korean English speech as 'accented' e.g. *'they speak English in a tongue like they are speaking Korean'* (#166) and generally described it as *'not smooth'*, *'unfluent'* (*sic*), yet *'clear'*. The Japanese informants also highlighted their relative unfamiliarity with English as spoken by Koreans: *'I don't know'* (#594); *'I cannot imagine'* (#562); *'no idea'* (#631); *'I haven't heard their English'* (#909); *'I have no idea about this sorry'* (#678); *'I have heard Korean's English only through K-pop'* (#908). However, many of the Japanese informants described Korean as *'fluent'*, with *'good pronunciation'*, *'confident'* and *'clear'*. As with the Chinese informants, the Japanese informants often described Korea's English in comparison to Japanese English, and in particular its perceived superiority to Japan's English: *'good than Japanese'* (#411); *'they speak English better than the Japanese do'* (#467); *'speak confidently than Japanese'* (#459); *'similar to Japanese but are more clear'* (#650); *'pronunciation is nearly Japanese, but better than Japanese'* (#613); *'flat as well as Japanese'* (#646); *'it's similar to the way Japanese speak English'* (#643). Particular Korean English features of speech mentioned by the Chinese and the Japanese informants include pronunciation problems with 'r' and 'l', 'f' and 'p', 'flat' intonation, a raising of tone at the end of words/sentences, and a heavy accent from their Korean language.

5.3.3.3 Summary of linguistic stereotypes for Chinese, Japanese and Korean speakers of English

The comments received on the survey item asking the informants to describe the way English is spoken by people from China, Japan and Korea revealed a number of interesting points. Firstly, there seemed to be a general consensus among all of the informants that China had a greater ability at speaking English, despite the general perception among Japanese and Korean informants that the accent may be heavily influenced by their mother tongue(s). Secondly, English spoken by Japan was generally deemed to be the most denigrated, with most comments focusing upon the 'poor' pronunciation as a result of a perceived heavy influence from the Japanese language, and that this

pronunciation was ‘incorrect’ or ‘wrong’. Thirdly, the attitudes towards the informants’ own speech variety were complex; the Chinese informants were relatively confident, and appeared to take pride in speaking English with Chinese characteristics, whereas, consistent with the findings of Tokumoto & Shibata (2011) (see Section 3.1.1), both the Japanese and the Korean informants expressed anxiety about their English. For Korean informants, there was a general assurance in their English pronunciation (which they compared quite frequently with Standard American models), yet an anxiety regarding their lack of confidence in speaking English, particularly due to a fear of making grammatical mistakes. The Japanese informants generally described Japan’s English ability as low (i.e. grammatically) and particularly expressed anxiety about their ‘Japanese English’ pronunciation, which was attributed to *katakana*, the Japanese alphabet used for pronouncing ‘foreign’ words. Thus, from the comments received, it appears that both the Japanese and the Korean informants used Standard English (predominantly American English) as an aim or a benchmark for learning or speaking English, in terms of pronunciation and grammar. However, by trying to emulate these native speaker models, it was causing particular anxiety or problems with confidence. In the case of the Korean informants a particular source of anxiety was grammar (although there was also a heavy focus on Standard American pronunciation), and in the case of the Japanese informants the anxiety seemed to be caused mainly by pronunciation. In contrast, the Chinese informants seemed less concerned with grammar or pronunciation, and yet were generally confident in their English language ability. Similarly, the Chinese were considered to have a greater ability in English language (particularly in speaking English) by both the Japanese and the Korean informants. Finally, a number of informants expressed a relative unfamiliarity with the ‘other’ varieties of English which they were asked to comment upon. The Chinese and the Japanese informants appeared to be particularly unfamiliar with English as spoken by Koreans, which was often described comparatively with Japanese English. This was in contrast to the Chinese and the Korean informants’ willingness to comment upon the English spoken in Japan, the majority of whom appeared to have a strong opinion. The greater number of comments regarding Japan’s English speech, and the tendency for informants to use Japanese English as a reference point to describe Korean English suggests a strong familiarity with the way English is spoken in Japan among all of the informants.

This chapter has presented the background information of the informants, and results of the speech evaluation experiment and perceptual dialectology experiment. The results of these experiments were used to conduct statistical analyses with the aim of answering the research question presented in Section 4.2, and to provide information for a more in-depth discussion, presented in the following chapter. Chapter 6 will address the research questions in order using the results of Chapter 5 and expand upon preliminary that has thus far been offered to explain the results.

Chapter 6: In-depth Discussion and Conclusions

Overview

Chapter 5 presented the results and analysis of the data collected during the study and provided a preliminary discussion of the findings. This chapter will provide a more in-depth discussion addressing the research questions presented in Chapter 4 (Section 4.2), in addition to any conclusions that can be drawn from the findings. It is important to note that since the research questions are interlinked it is inevitable that there is some overlap in the discussions of the findings, although links are provided for the reader where possible. Each research question is discussed in the order presented in Section 4.2, and is followed by a separate conclusions chapter aimed at highlighting the main findings and any wider implications of the study, in addition to limitations of the study.

6.1 Research question one: What are the implicit attitude evaluations of East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, (South) Korean) university students towards representative speakers of English from the following nationalities? i) China ii) Hong Kong iii) India iv) Japan v) (South) Korea

Implicit attitude evaluations of Chinese, Japanese and South Korean informants towards representative speakers of English from Mainland China (China hereafter), Hong Kong, India, Japan and South Korea (Korea hereafter) were measured using a verbal guise experiment. Informants were asked to listen to five speech recordings, and rate each speaker on a bipolar semantic differential scale which was designed in a pilot study using informants similar to the

target informants, and which included the seven traits, ‘*clear/unclear*’, ‘*confident/unconfident*’, ‘*cute/not cute*’, ‘*energetic/tired*’, ‘*friendly/unfriendly*’, ‘*happy/unhappy*’ and ‘*young/old*’.

A principal components analysis revealed that the seven traits included in the semantic-differential scale for evaluating the five speakers were representative of one evaluative dimension. In contrast, previous language studies among informants of the Expanding Circle found that evaluations existed along two distinct dimensions, status/competence, and solidarity/social attractiveness (e.g. McKenzie, 2008a, 2010; Yook & Lindemann, 2013). However, there are marked differences between previous language attitudes studies and the present study. Most especially, previous language attitudes have presented speech stimuli provided by Inner Circle varieties of English alongside Outer and Expanding Circle varieties of English, whereas the present study did not include Inner Circle varieties of English. This may have had an effect on both the design of the evaluative scale (see Section 4.7.6 for the selection of evaluative traits) and the evaluations given by the informants.

Overall mean evaluations of each speaker

The mean evaluation scores of each speaker were calculated using SPSS (v. 20). As a reminder to the reader, the ranking, the mean evaluation scores and the standard deviations of each speaker are presented below. Speakers are listed in descending order according to the mean evaluation score, and values marked with an asterisk show a significant difference with the ratings below.

Table 39: Ranking of each speaker according to mean evaluation scores

Speaker	Mean evaluation score	Standard deviation
Indian speaker of English	4.94*	0.85
Japanese speakers of English	4.52*	0.90
Hong Kong speaker of English	3.83	0.82
Korean speakers of English	3.74*	0.81
Chinese speaker of English	3.06	0.79

(mean evaluation score of 7 = the most favourable evaluation)

The results of Table 39 suggest that informants were able to discern differences among the speakers and were willing to evaluate the speakers differently according to the seven bipolar adjective presented above. The evaluations also revealed the existence of a hierarchy, where the Indian and the Japanese speakers of English were evaluated positively (i.e. above the mid-point of 4.0), and the Hong Kong, the Korean and the Chinese speakers of English were evaluated negatively. More specifically, there was a significant difference between each of the speakers, with the exception of the Hong Kong and the Korean speakers. The Indian speaker of English was rated highest, followed by the Japanese speaker of English, the Hong Kong and the Korean speakers of English, and finally the Chinese speaker of English. The evaluations of each speaker are discussed below.

The Indian speaker of English

The significantly higher evaluation of the Indian speaker of English in comparison with the other speakers of English is inconsistent with findings of previous language attitude studies among Chinese (Zhang, 2011), Japanese (Chiba, Matsuura & Fujieda, 1995) and Korean (Kim, 2007) informants, which have all commonly found Indian speakers of English to be denigrated in comparison to both Inner Circle varieties of English, and Outer/Expanding Circles of English (see Chapter 3). However, an inspection of the identification rates (also see Section 5.1.3) suggests that the majority of the 554 informants perceived the Indian speaker of English to be from the Inner

Circle (i.e. to be a “native” speaker of English). Previous language attitude studies among Japanese and Korean informants have shown that native speakers of English are generally accorded higher evaluations than non-native speakers of English (McKenzie, 2010; Yook & Lindemann, 2013), and this phenomenon occurs even when a non-native speaker of English is *perceived* to be a native speaker of English (Rivers, 2011). Thus, the perception among the majority of informants in the present study that the Indian speaker of English was a native speaker may have resulted in the higher evaluation.

One possible explanation for why the Indian speaker of English was perceived to be a native speaker of English may be due to informants’ unfamiliarity with the speaker variety. However, Deterding (2005) argues that when learners of English are unfamiliar with a particular variety, they have a tendency to be labelled as non-native speakers of English. Yet, in the present study, the Indian speaker of English was misidentified by the majority of the informants as a native speaker of English. It is also a possibility that the misidentification of the Indian speaker of English may be due to specific features of speech of the speaker. For instance, Brown *et al.* (1980) found that a higher speech rate resulted in higher evaluations in terms of status-related traits. In the same study, evaluation of solidarity-related traits also increased with speech rate, but only up to a certain point, after which they began to decline. An inspection of the speech rates of the speakers evaluated in the present study (see Section 4.7.5 for more details) revealed that the rate of speech of the Indian speaker of English was notably faster than the other speakers at 182.7 words per minute, in comparison to the average speech rate among the five speakers of English of 118.9 words per minute. The faster rate of speech of the Indian speaker thus may have contributed to the informants misidentifying her as a native speaker of English. However, the focus of the present study was not on precise features of speech of the speakers, and further research is needed to determine what factors may cause an Indian speaker of English to be perceived as a native speaker of English.

The Japanese speaker of English

The Japanese speaker of English also received favourable evaluations, and was rated significantly higher than the Hong Kong, the Korean, and the Chinese speakers of English, though significantly

lower than the Indian speaker of English. The favourable evaluations received by the Japanese speaker may be further informed by the identification rate. For instance, Ryan (1983) claims that certainty of a speaker's group membership has a positive effect upon the evaluation of a speaker, and the Japanese speaker of English was the most accurately identified out of the five speakers by a large margin (with an identification rate of 62.5% among all 554 informants). Thus, it is possible to conclude that the informants' ability to correctly identify the Japanese speaker of English may have led to a higher evaluation of the speaker. However, analysis of the identification rates according to the nationality of the informants revealed that, despite the high overall identification rate of the Japanese speaker, speakers who shared the same nationality as the informants were easier to correctly identify than the Japanese speaker of English. Moreover, in previous language attitude studies Japanese and Korean informants have often accorded higher evaluations to members of their own group membership than both 'other non-native speakers', and native speakers of English (McKenzie, 2008b, 2010; Rivers, 2011; Shin, 2011; Starks & Paltridge, 1996). Thus, it is surprising that both the Chinese and the Korean informants, who were generally adept at correctly identifying the Japanese speaker's country of origin (35.5% and 53.1% respectively), evaluated the Japanese speaker more favourably than speakers from their own nationality. Furthermore, in previous language attitude studies, the Japanese variety of English was generally denigrated as the most undesirable English accent amongst Korean university students (Shin, 2011), amongst Japanese informants (Matsuda, 2003; Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011) and amongst English language teachers in twelve different countries (Jenkins, 2007). This is further supported by descriptions of 'Japanese English' among the Chinese and the Korean informants in the present study as '*incorrect*', '*wrong*', and characterised by '*bad pronunciation*' (see Section 5.3.3). The findings of the present study thus raise the possibility that the Japanese speech variety of English did not receive a favourable evaluation due to perceived 'notions of correctness', but may have been seen more generally as likable than the other non-native speaker varieties provided as speech stimuli in the present study, specifically among the Chinese and the Korean informants. If this is the case, this may be an indicator of attitude change towards 'other' non-native English speech varieties. Further studies are necessary in order to ascertain whether Japanese speakers of English are consistently

evaluated favourably by Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants, and/or more favourably than their own varieties of English, and if so what the causes of such favourable evaluations may be.

The Hong Kong speaker of English and the Korean speaker of English

Analysis of the data demonstrated that there was no significant difference between the evaluations accorded to the Hong Kong and the Korean speakers of English by the 554 informant sample. Furthermore, both the Hong Kong and the Korean speakers of English were rated significantly lower than the Indian and the Japanese speakers of English, yet significantly higher than the Chinese speaker of English. The evaluations of the Hong Kong and the Korean speakers of English were, however, generally negative (below the mid-point of 4.0), with mean evaluation scores of 3.83 and 3.74 respectively. The negative evaluations accorded to the Hong Kong and the Korean speakers of English are consistent with previous research among English language teachers in twelve different countries indicating that speakers from Hong Kong and Korea were denigrated (Jenkins, 2007). However, in the same study, the Japanese form of English speech evoked a strong negative response, in contrast to the results of the present study. There was also evidence in the present study to suggest that both the Hong Kong and the Korean speakers of English were frequently misidentified as native speakers of English (along with the Chinese speaker of English – see Section 5.1.3). Yet, despite evidence in previous language attitude studies to suggest that non-native speakers perceived to be native speakers of English are accorded higher evaluations (Rivers, 2011), the evaluations of the Hong Kong and the Korean speakers of English were generally negative, even when the speakers were perceived to be native speakers of English. Analysis of the identification rates of the Hong Kong and the Korean speakers of English suggested that informants were generally unfamiliar with the speaker varieties, which may have been a factor in the low mean evaluation scores received by the speakers. The unfamiliarity with the Korean speaker of English was further evidenced by comments received in the direct attitude experiment, where informants were asked to comment upon English spoken in Korea. Many of the informants expressed that they had not heard a Korean speaking English, and a number of informants chose to use Japanese English as a reference point to describe Korean English characteristics. It is interesting to note that, in the case of the Hong Kong speaker of English, the Japanese and the Korean informants appeared

to represent a speaker of English from China more than a (Mainland) Chinese speaker of English, which may suggest a greater familiarity with Hong Kong speakers of English than Chinese speakers of English.

(Mainland) Chinese speaker of English

The Chinese speaker of English was consistently evaluated significantly lowest of the five speakers in the present study. This finding is inconsistent with the attitudes found among English teachers, who rated Chinese English as the most favourable variety in East Asia (Jenkins, 2007) - although it is worth highlighting that Asian Englishes in general were perceived fairly negatively. It is possible that the significantly low evaluations may be a result of linguistic variation. For example, a slower speech rate has been shown to result in lower speaker evaluations on status and solidarity-related traits (Brown, 1980). However, analysis of the speaker recording revealed that the speech rate of the Chinese speaker of English was the second fastest among all five speakers at 126.7 words per minute (wpm), and higher than the average speech rate of 118.9 wpm (see Section 4.7.5 for more details). Moreover, the Chinese speaker of English spoke with notably fewer hesitations than the Japanese, the Hong Kong, and the Korean speaker of English. Another possibility could be the prosodic features of speech i.e. the rhythm, stress and intonation of speech. Tonal languages such as Mandarin have prosodic pitch variation distinctive from languages such as Korean and Japanese. Second language acquisition research has demonstrated that prosodic transfer from a speaker's first language (L1) is an important factor in second language (L2) prosody learning (Rasier & Hiligsmann, 2007), indicating that L1 prosody may be detectable in L2 speech. However, the evaluations of another L1 speaker of a tonal language provided as a speech stimulus for the present study, the Hong Kong speaker (whose L1 was Cantonese), were not especially low ($M = 3.83$), and was evaluated significantly higher than the Chinese speaker of English. Analysis of the speaker evaluations according to the nationality of the informants also revealed that the Chinese speaker of English was evaluated significantly least favourably by each informant group i.e. by the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informants (see Section 6.4.1 for detailed discussion). The significantly low evaluations of the Chinese speaker of English for each informant group are surprising considering the generally positive descriptions of English speech in China. For instance,

a number of informants described China's English as '*the best in all three countries*', and appeared envious of the perceived confidence with which Chinese spoke English (see Section 5.3.3). Since the focus of the present study is not precisely on the perception of L2 English speakers' linguistic features, it is difficult to conclude further what may have caused the significantly low evaluations of the Chinese speaker of English among the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informants. However, researchers in language attitudes have frequently claimed that any evaluation of a speaker's speech style is not based on any inherent linguistic or aesthetic superiority, but on the social connotations, i.e. stereotypes, between the way an individual speaks and their group membership as perceived by the hearer (see Chapter 2). Therefore, an analysis of the explicit attitudes reported in the direct attitude experiment may provide an insight into the low evaluations accorded to the Chinese speaker of English. The following section (Section 6.2) discusses the explicit attitudes of the informants towards people from Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups, and is followed by a discussion of the effects explicit attitudes may have upon the speaker evaluations (Section 6.3).

Examining the ranking pattern for each speaker also suggests a possible pattern based upon status/economic status. Since the Indian speaker of English was generally misidentified as a native speaker of English (most notably from the USA), then we can see the following pattern: Indian speaker > Japanese speaker > Hong Kong speaker > Korean speaker > Chinese speaker, where the rating pattern may represent the perceived order of status and/or economic status each country holds. However, without any further investigation it is difficult to conclude at this time. Further research into whether perceived status/economic status may affect implicit language attitudes towards speakers may provide more insight.

6.2 Research question two: What are the explicit attitudes of East Asian (Chinese, Japanese, Korean) university students towards people from the following nationality groups: (i) China (ii) Japan (ii) Korea

In order to investigate explicit attitudes of Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants towards each other (i.e. stereotypes), informants were asked directly to describe the personality of a typical person from each of the three countries (see Section 4.4.3). The descriptions were then entered into a database where the frequency of commonalities was calculated. Repeat occurrences of descriptions helped the author to identify stereotypes held of each national group, in addition to the positive or negative attitudes held by each informant group. A number of observations were made with respect to the results of the explicit attitude experiment.

Firstly, the study found that all 554 informants were willing to make explicit judgements of the three national groups, and a large number of frequently occurring descriptions for each group indicated that these descriptions represented explicit stereotypes. As described in Chapter 2, stereotypes are believed to be part of a natural human process of categorization in order to maximise understanding of our complex world (Allport, 1954; Fiske & Taylor, 1991). Moreover, stereotypes can be negative or positive, and are believed to be learned through the social environment (i.e. from parents, peers and wider society) rather than through first-hand experience (Bohner & Wänke, 2002; Kirsch et al. 2004; Ottoti et al, 2005). Thus, stereotypes elicited in the present study were believed to be relatively stable and suitable for analysis. The frequent occurrence of stereotypical descriptions for both the informants' ingroup (i.e. their nationality) and outgroups (the remaining national groups) also suggests that, in congruence with the social identity theory and the self-categorisation theory (see Section 2.2) which dominate the social identity approach, as group membership becomes more salient (in this case, cues from the map task may have acted as a trigger to intergroup salience), both ingroups and outgroups are viewed as relatively homogenous, as personal identity is depersonalised, and the individual self-stereotypes themselves as part of their ingroup. Thus, common stereotypical judgements were elicited for both the informants' own national group, and the remaining national groups.

Secondly, both the Japanese and the Korean national groups received generally favourable descriptions. The positive stereotypes that were provided generally described the Japanese national group as *'polite'*, *'kind'* and commented upon the Japanese work ethic (i.e. *'hard-working'*, *'careful'*, *'diligent'*). The Korean national group was described positively as *'polite'*, *'friendly'* and comments highlighted a focus upon aesthetics (i.e. *'fashionable'*, *'sense of beauty'*). The Chinese national group, however, were described generally in negative terms, with volume (i.e. *'noisy'*, *'loud'*), personal cleanliness (i.e. *'dirty'*, *'unclean'*), and interpersonal characteristics (*'selfish'*, *'aggressive'*) appearing as recurrent themes. It is firstly important to highlight that these negative comments were received by the Japanese and the Korean informants, whereas the Chinese informants were overwhelmingly positive in the evaluations of their own national group. While negative descriptions of the Chinese national group among the Japanese and the Korean informants may be a result of historical conflict and bad feeling between the countries (in addition to an attitudinal response to recent events – see Limitations, Section 7.2), it is believed by the present author that many of the negative descriptions provided in the present study may be a result of perceptions among the Japanese and the Korean informants about the economic status of China, where despite its recent meteoric ascendancy, China may still be viewed predominantly as a developing country.

For instance, previous research suggests that, regardless of ethnicity, socioeconomically disadvantaged groups are historically labelled *'loud'* and *'dirty'* (along with *'ignorant'* and *'carefree'* – two stereotypes that were recorded in the present study, but were not among the top ten occurring descriptions), and this phenomenon occurs in virtually every society (Ross & Nisbett, 1990). In particular, studies in the USA have found that, within the last century, similar stereotypes have been held towards Irish immigrants, Italian immigrants, and more recently Puerto Rican and Mexican immigrants (Pettigrew, 1968; Ross & Nisbett, 1990). Research also suggests that the stereotypes change over time as these groups gain higher economic status, where the stigmatized group (i.e. Irish immigrants and Italian immigrants in the above example) is likely to be replaced by another (i.e. Puerto Rican and Mexican immigrants).

In contrast to the present study, recent research in China and Japan has revealed mutually negative attitudes towards one another. In June/July 2013 *Genron NPO* (a Japanese think tank) and *China Daily*, collaborated to investigate Sino-Japanese ‘impressions’ among 1,805 Japanese and 1,540 Chinese informants (Genron NPO, 2013). Informants were asked directly about their impressions of China/Japan, and given four options to choose from, roughly translated as: ‘good impressions’, ‘somewhat good impressions’, ‘somewhat bad impressions’ and ‘bad impressions’ (author’s translation). The report indicated that 90.1% of the Japanese informants held negative impressions of China, an increase of 5.8% from the same survey conducted the previous year. Similarly 92.8% of the Chinese informants held negative attitudes towards Japan, and these negative attitudes had risen 28.3% from 2012. 77.6% of the Chinese informants cited the recent territorial disputes as the main reason for their negative attitudes, a 39.8% increase than the previous year (see Limitations, Chapter 7.2 for more information regarding the territorial disputes). Furthermore, 63.8% of Chinese informants cited Japan’s lack of an apology and/or remorse for its aggression against China during its imperialistic past as a reason for their negative attitudes towards Japan. In contrast, 53.2 % of the Japanese informants claimed that negative attitudes towards China were a result of the recent territorial dispute, and 48.9% due to Chinese criticism of Japan over historical issues.

While it is difficult to draw direct comparisons between the *Genron NPO* study and the present study, it is of interest to highlight the somewhat positive attitudes held by the Chinese informants in the present study towards the Japanese national group, in stark contrast to the negative attitudes found in the *Genron NPO* study. It is a possibility that age and education may be a factor in the negative attitudes towards Japan found in the *Genron NPO* study, since the majority of the Chinese informants in the present study were 18-20 years old university students and provided generally positive descriptions of the Japanese national group. However, over half (n = 802) of the 1540 Chinese informants surveyed in the *Genron NPO* study were reported to be university students or teachers in the top five universities in Beijing. A notable difference between the methodologies in the two studies was the wording of the questions. The *Genron NPO* study asked for impressions of China/Japan, whereas the present study asked informants to specifically describe the *personality* of

a person from each country. It is thus a possibility that the *Genron NPO* study was somewhat ambiguous in its meaning, and resulted in informants reporting attitudes towards the *governments* of each country rather than its *people*, and that these attitudes may differ. For instance, although the *Genron NPO* study revealed negative attitudes of Japan among the Chinese informants, reportedly due to the territorial dispute and historical conflict, the present study indicated that the Chinese informants saw Japanese people as generally polite, hard-working and kind. The present study also measured attitudes indirectly, by asking informants to rate English speech varieties. In the speech evaluation experiment, the Chinese informants also accorded the Japanese speaker of English with high evaluations, and these evaluations were felt to reflect the positive attitudes reported in the explicit attitude experiment, and which was further supported by the finding that the explicit attitudes had a positive significant effect upon the speaker evaluations (see Section 6.3). In contrast, the Japanese informants, who were generally negative towards China/the Chinese national group in both studies, provided descriptions of the Chinese informants consistent with traits that indicate China is viewed as socio-economically disadvantaged. Moreover, only a small number of Japanese informants in the present study provided descriptions that commented upon historical and/or recent conflicts between the countries.

Another recent study was completed by the *Pew Research Center* in spring 2013, which investigated attitudes in East/South East Asia towards Japan (Pew Research Center, 2013). The results of the survey indicated that negative attitudes were generally held towards Japan among both Chinese and South Korean informants. An item included on the survey asked informants to respond to the following request on a four-point scale: *Please tell me if you have a very favourable, favourable, somewhat favourable, somewhat unfavourable or very unfavourable opinion of Japan.* From a sample of 3226 Chinese adults in predominantly urban areas throughout China, 90% of the informants indicated an unfavourable opinion of Japan, with 74% of the 90% answering ‘*very unfavourable*’. Similarly, 77% of 809 the South Korean adults reported unfavourable opinions of Japan, with roughly half of informants (38% of the 77%) selecting ‘*very unfavourable*’. However, according to the study report, there was a notable generation gap in the responses of South Korean informants, with older generations more likely to report negative attitudes than younger generations.

For example, 82% of informants aged 50 or over were unfavourable towards Japan, in comparison to 66% of informants under the age of 30. The Pew Research study, however, also included an item asking for opinions towards Shinzo Abe, the current Prime Minister (PM) of Japan (since December 2012). 85% of both the Chinese and the South Korean informants reported unfavourable attitudes towards the Japanese PM, although, as with their opinions of Japan, the Chinese informants were notably less favourable, with 62% responding ‘very unfavourable’ in comparison to 48% of the South Korean informants.

Again, it is difficult to draw direct comparisons between the *Pew Research Center* study and the present study. However, one notable difference between the studies is the positive attitudes towards the Japanese national group held by both the Chinese and the Korean informants. Indeed, in the present study the Korean informants were equally as positive about the Japanese national group as they were towards their own national group. The wording of the question again may be a factor in the negative attitudes reported towards Japan, since unfavourable opinions of the Japanese PM appeared to reflect the similarly unfavourable attitudes towards Japan in the same study. The study did not specifically ask for attitudes towards Japanese people, which may differ from attitudes towards ‘Japan’ and/or Japan’s Prime Minister.

Thirdly, the descriptions of informants’ own national group were generally positive, which was especially pronounced for the Chinese informants. A positive ingroup bias towards one’s own national group is not surprising, and may be explained by Tajfel & Turner’s (1979b) *social identity theory*, whereby individuals seek to derive self-esteem from their social groups, resulting in a positive bias towards the group in which they consider themselves a member (see Chapter 2). However, the Korean informants appeared to be more self-critical of (or certainly more ambivalent towards) their own national group than the Chinese or the Japanese informants, exhibiting similar levels of positivity towards their own national group as they did towards the Japanese national group. The Korean informants provided a number of common negative descriptions for their own national group, such as ‘*quick-tempered*’ and ‘*impatient*’, in addition to ‘*hurried*’ ‘*fast*’ and ‘*busy*’, with the latter three adjectives all interpreted similar in meaning to ‘*impatient*’ after an informal

discussion with Korean informants. In addition, both the Japanese and the Korean informants expressed a general anxiety over their own varieties of English (see Section 5.3.3). The Japanese informants were generally concerned about their general poor ability English ability and ‘bad’ pronunciation, whereas the Korean informants tended to highlight their fear of making mistakes when speaking English (particularly when speaking to native speakers of English). These comments are consistent with the findings of Tokumoto & Shibata (2011) (see Section 3.1.1), who found that Japanese and Korean informants displayed considerable anxiety about their own varieties of English. On the other hand, in the present study the Chinese informants appeared to be more confident about their English abilities and much less concerned with pronunciation. Furthermore, a large number of the Chinese informants demonstrated an awareness of English speech variation within China’s provinces, and did not appear to comment negatively upon these varieties. In a previous language attitude study, Chinese informants had expressed a strong agreement that China would or should have its own variety of English, and considerable agreement that informants would prefer to be identified clearly as Chinese rather than sound like a native speaker of English (Bian, 2009; He & Li, 2009). It is therefore a possibility that an acceptance or tolerance of other English accents within China had a positive effect upon the Chinese informants’ attitudes towards Chinese English overall. However, further research is necessary in order to investigate any possible effects that varieties of English in China may have upon Chinese informants’ attitudes to other English varieties (including their own).

It is difficult to conclude reasons for the differences in the attitudes of the three informant groups. However, a review of English language education in each country (see Chapter 1) highlighted contrasting attitudes towards English prevalent in education policy documents of each country. The Chinese government appeared to view English not simply as a language of communication and as a means of increasing global competitiveness, but also as a valuable life skill, for instance, “to foster students’ intellectual development, broaden their vision, and enhance development of individuality and specialty” (Silver, Hu & Iino, 2002: 25). In addition, Japan and Korea have both established programmes (JET and EPIK/TaLK respectively) which provide native English speaker teachers in classrooms across each country, which may further reinforce native speaker norms. Although in China native English speaker teachers are not uncommon, it appears that the hiring of native

English speaker teachers is not an initiative set by the government. It may be possible that greater exposure to Chinese teachers of English may have engendered a higher confidence in speaking English with Chinese characteristics than the Japanese and the Korean informants regarding their own varieties of English. However, without further figures on the use of native English speaker teachers in China's provinces conclusions remain tentative.

Fourthly, the Korean informants' overall descriptions of the three national groups were negative, whereas the overall descriptions elicited by the Chinese and the Japanese informants were positive (see Section 5.3.1). The generally negative explicit attitudes among the Korean informants held towards different national groups, including self-critical descriptions of their own national group, suggested a difference in attitudes among the Korean informants, in comparison to the Chinese and the Japanese informants. Differences in the implicit and explicit evaluations according to the nationality of the informants are discussed in-depth in Section 6.4.1.

As previously mentioned, the explicit attitudes demonstrated a generally positive attitude towards the Japanese and the Korean national groups, and a generally negative attitude towards the Chinese national group. Moreover, the explicit attitudes appeared to reflect the implicit attitudes (i.e. speaker evaluations), where the Japanese speaker of English was rated the most favourable, and the Chinese speaker of English was rated the least favourable from the three national groups. In order to discuss similarities and differences between the speaker evaluations and the descriptions provided in the direct attitude experiment in more depth, research question three investigated the possible effect of the explicit attitudes upon implicit attitudes. The results are presented and discussed in Section 6.3 below.

6.3 Research question three: To what extent (if any) do explicit attitudes towards national groups affect implicit language attitudes?

In order to ascertain whether any explicit attitudes had an effect upon implicit attitudes, the descriptions of Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups were categorized into positive, negative or ambiguous/neutral, and summed to give an overall positive or negative attitude elicited by each informant (see Section 5.3.2). This mean score was then analysed against the mean evaluation scores given to the Chinese, Japanese and Korean speakers of English to compare for main effects.

Analysis of the data revealed that explicit attitudes (i.e. stereotypical judgments of different national groups) had a small but statistically significant effect upon implicit attitudes (i.e. language attitudes towards speakers of different national groups). Further analysis indicated more specifically that informants who exhibited positive overall explicit attitudes towards national groups tended to evaluate the speakers of English significantly more favourably than informants who exhibited overall negative or ambivalent explicit attitudes. This finding is consistent with the *social connotation hypothesis* (Trudgill & Giles, 1978), which posits that language attitudes are a reflection of social connotations (i.e. stereotypes) that are evoked in listeners based upon the perceived group membership of speakers (see Chapter 2). This hypothesis is further supported by the findings of previous language attitude studies, which have consistently shown that listeners are willing to make different judgments based upon language varieties or accents, even if the speakers of the varieties are the same person speaking in different guises (Lambert *et al.* 1960). Furthermore, verbal guise experiments that have included identification tasks have shown that evaluations of speakers that are perceived to be native speakers of English reflect similar evaluations of native speakers who are correctly identified (Rivers, 2011). The findings of studies such as those completed by Lambert *et al.* (1960) and Rivers (2011) indicated that perceived group membership is indeed important to the listeners. Thus, speech characteristics of each speaker may act as a marker for the listener to identify the speaker's origin/ethnicity, and trigger a response consistent with connotations attached to speaker's perceived social group/ethnicity. The findings of the

present study add further support, suggesting that an overall positive attitude towards national groups had a small but significant effect on the way in which listeners evaluated speakers of those same national groups.

Therefore, it can be concluded that in the present study, listening to the speaker varieties evoked stereotypical attitudes towards the speakers among the informants, perhaps as a result of their perceived group membership of the speakers. A positive overall explicit attitude toward the Japanese national group therefore could provide an explanation for the high evaluation ($M = 4.52$) accorded to the Japanese speaker of English, who was correctly identified by the majority of the informants (62.5%, $n = 346$). Similarly the negative explicit attitudes towards the Chinese national group may have been a factor in the significantly lower evaluation of the Chinese speaker of English ($M = 3.06$), who received the second most accurate identification rate among the informants (34.5%, $n = 191$). The slightly lower evaluation received by the Korean speaker of English ($M = 3.74$), may be a result of the greater difficulty informants had in correctly identifying the speaker (23.3%, $n = 157$).

Since research has shown that stereotypical judgements may affect behaviour towards certain social groups (Wheeler & Petty, 2001), the implications of the findings of the present study raise the possibility that stereotypical judgements towards national groups may affect the way a speaker is judged, and in turn may affect interaction with that person. More research is necessary to support the findings of the present study that explicit (i.e. stereotypical) judgements towards national groups affect speaker evaluation, and if so, whether these judgements result in a possible effect upon behaviour during intercultural communication.

6.4 Research question four: What are the effects (if any) of the following background variables upon the informants' evaluations of the speakers: (i) Nationality (ii) Gender

Previous language attitude studies that involved Chinese and Korean informants have largely neglected potential social factors that may affect speaker evaluations, whereas studies in Japan have investigated such factors as informants' gender (Starks & Paltridge, 1996), English language ability (Bensen, 1991), self-perceived English language ability (McKenzie, 2008a, 2010), and awareness of linguistic variety within Japan (McKenzie, 2010). Due to the cross-cultural design of the present study it was felt beneficial to investigate first and foremost whether there were any significant differences in the evaluations of the five speakers of English selected for the present study among the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informants i.e. based on the nationality of the informants. In addition, since gender has frequently been found to be a significant factor in evaluating speakers of English, where female informants tend to accord higher evaluations to prestigious speech forms (Labov, 1972; McKenzie, 2008a; 2010; Milroy & Milroy, 1998), the present study, aimed to investigate whether the absence of a speech stimulus provided by speakers of English from the Inner Circle resulted in different findings. The following section discusses the findings of the present study, and is divided into subsections addressing the effects (if any) of the independent variables upon the speaker evaluations. The nationality of the informants is presented first, followed by a discussion about the gender of the informants.

6.4.1 Nationality

As discussed in Section 6.1, a clear hierarchy was exhibited in the mean evaluations of each speaker by the 554 informants. As a reminder for the reader, the overall ratings accorded to each speaker are listed below in descending order from highest to lowest mean evaluations. Values marked with an asterisk show a significant difference with the ratings below. The following paragraphs discuss the significant differences between the speaker evaluations across all informants (shown below in Table 40), followed by a discussion about the speaker evaluations between the three informant groups.

Table 40: Ranking of each speaker according to mean evaluation scores

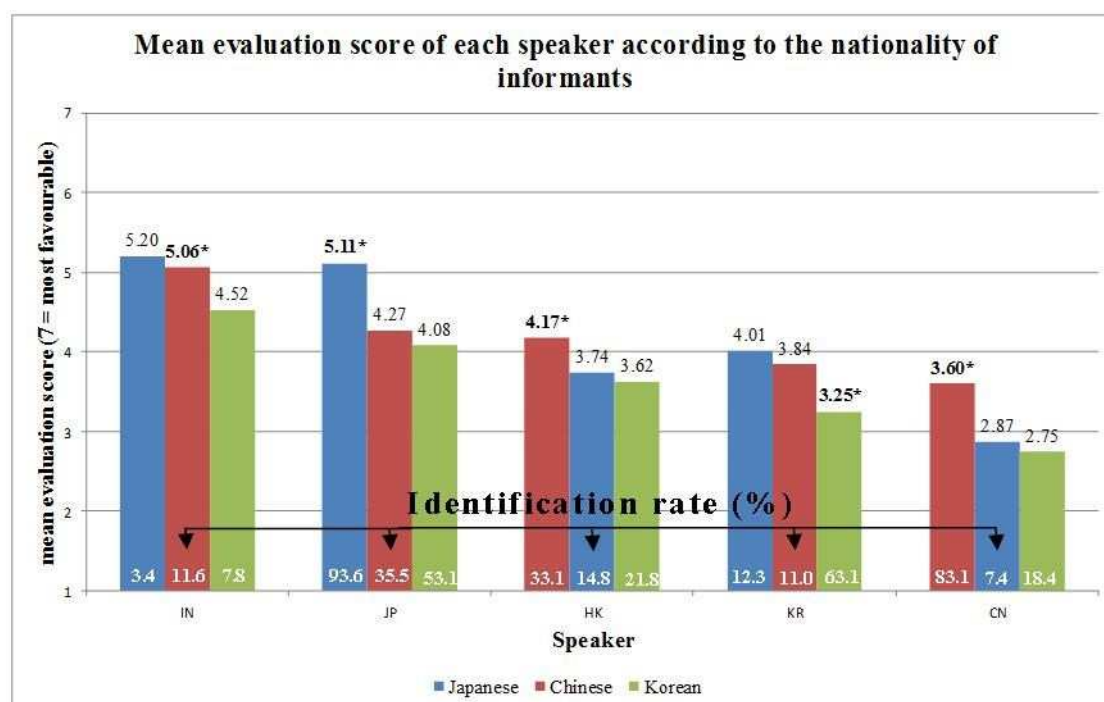
Speaker (all informants, N = 554)		
	M	SD
Indian speaker of English	4.94*	0.85
Japanese speakers of English	4.52*	0.90
Hong Kong speaker of English	3.83	0.82
Korean speakers of English	3.74*	0.81
Chinese speaker of English	3.06	0.79

(mean evaluation score of 7 = the most favourable evaluation)

As shown in Table 40, the Indian and the Japanese speakers of English were generally evaluated positively (i.e. above the mid-point of 4.0) by the 554 informants, whereas the Hong Kong, the Korean and the Chinese speakers were generally evaluated negatively. Moreover, the Indian speaker of English was evaluated significantly higher than the other speakers, the Japanese speaker was evaluated significantly higher than the Hong Kong, the Korean and the Chinese speakers, and the Chinese speaker of English was evaluated significantly lowest of all five speakers presented in the verbal guise experiment.

The 554 informants consisted of 203 Japanese informants, 179 Korean informants and 172 Chinese informants. The mean evaluation scores for each speaker were entered as dependent variables in a multivariate analysis of variance, and the nationality of the informants was entered as an independent variable. The results demonstrated that there was a large significant difference between the nationality of the informants and the evaluations of all five speakers (see Section 5.2.2). In order to discuss the significant differences found between the speaker evaluations and the nationality of the informants, a graph is provided for the reader (Figure 11), which shows the difference in evaluations for each speaker according to each informant group. Values marked in bold font with an asterisk represent significant differences in comparison to the previous rating. Since the identification rates of the speakers are included in the following discussion, the success with which informants identified each speaker is also labelled at the bottom of each column.

Figure 11: Mean evaluation score and identification rate of each speaker according to nationality of the informants



The significant differences found between the evaluations of the speakers according to the nationality of the informants appeared to suggest a general ingroup bias. For example, the Japanese speaker of English was evaluated significantly higher by the Japanese informants, with no significant difference between the evaluations received by the Chinese and the Korean informants. In addition, the Chinese and the Hong Kong speakers of English were both evaluated significantly higher by the Chinese informants than the Japanese and the Korean informants, who did not differ significantly in their evaluations of the speakers. Both of these results suggested a positive ingroup bias was evident in the evaluations of the Japanese and the Chinese informants. In contrast, the Korean informants evaluated both the Indian and the Korean speakers of English significantly lower than the Chinese and the Japanese informants, who did not differ significantly in their evaluations of the speakers. The finding that the Korean informants evaluated the Korean speaker of English significantly lower than the other informant groups was particularly surprising, since it appeared to suggest a negative ingroup bias. The potential reasons for the aforementioned significant differences are discussed below.

6.4.1.1 Significant differences in the Chinese and the Japanese informants' evaluations of the speakers

The findings in the present study that the Chinese and the Japanese informants gave significantly higher evaluations to speakers of their own national group membership are consistent with the findings of previous studies of a similar nature that ingroup members tend to be accorded higher evaluations, and most particularly in terms of solidarity/social attractiveness (Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto, 1995; Lambert et al., 1960; McKenzie, 2010). The findings are further supported by the high rates of identification for speakers that share the same nationality as the informants. For instance, 93.6% (n = 190) and 83.1% (n = 143) of the Japanese and the Chinese informants respectively identified the speaker who shared the same nationality as themselves correctly. Although Chinese informants were less successful at identifying the Hong Kong speaker of English (33.1%, n = 57), this figure was still relatively high in comparison to the Japanese and the Korean informants, and considering the challenging open-ended nature of the identification task (see Section 4.4.2). The higher identification rate for the Hong Kong speaker of English among the Chinese informants may suggest a greater familiarity with the Hong Kong English speech variety among the Chinese informants than among the Japanese and the Korean informants. According to Tajfel's social identity theory (see Section 2.2.1), ingroup bias (or positive distinctiveness) is believed to occur when group membership is salient in order to raise self-esteem. Thus, it is possible to conclude that the higher evaluations of the Chinese and Japanese informants accorded to members of their own national group may have been a result of ingroup bias, where the ingroup is perceived as favourable and the outgroup is downgraded.

6.4.1.2 Significant differences in the Korean informants' evaluations of the speakers

As discussed above, the Korean informants evaluated the Indian speaker of English significantly lower than the Chinese and the Japanese informants. A closer inspection of the identification rates revealed that, although the correct identification of the Indian speaker was low among the Korean informants (7.8%, n = 14), the majority of the 179 Korean informants (67.0%, n = 120) were able to correctly categorise the Indian speaker as a non-native speaker of English. The Korean informants were therefore much more successful at identifying the Indian speaker as a non-native speaker of English than the Chinese and the Japanese informants, 47.7% (n = 82) and 75.4% (n = 153) of

whom generally perceived the Indian speaker to be from an Inner Circle country respectively. Thus, the lower evaluation accorded to the Indian speaker by the Korean informants may be due to a categorisation of the Indian speaker as a non-native speaker of English. In a language attitude study among Korean informants, Yook & Lindemann (2013) investigated attitudes towards a variety of Inner Circle speaker varieties - including one 'stigmatized' variety, American African Vernacular English (AAVE) - and a Korean speaker of English (see Section 3.1.2 for more details). It was concluded that the native/non-native speaker dichotomy was of paramount importance in categorising speakers of English. Furthermore, the evaluation of an unfamiliar (or 'stigmatized' variety, AAVE in the case of Yook and Lindemann's study) may be based upon the perception that the speaker was either a highly proficient non-native speaker of English (resulting in a higher evaluation) or as a 'bad' native speaker (resulting in a lower evaluation). In agreement with Yook & Lindemann (2013), the author of the present study concludes that the Indian speaker of English received a significantly lower evaluation from the Korean informants than the other informant groups, since the majority appeared to identify the speaker as a highly proficient non-native speaker. Although the Korean informants' evaluation of the Indian speaker was relatively favourable ($M = 4.52$), it was significantly lower than the Japanese ($M = 5.20$) and Chinese ($M = 5.06$) informants. It could be concluded that the Chinese and the Japanese informants are likely to have categorised the Indian speaker as a native speaker of English, therefore resulting in a more favourable evaluation. Nevertheless, the Indian speaker of English was accorded the significantly most favourable among the Korean informants from all five speakers presented in the speech evaluation experiment. It is possible that the Korean informants therefore categorised all five speakers, who the majority of the Korean informants perceived to be non-native speakers of English, in terms of perceived proficiency in English, where the Indian speaker of English was deemed the most proficient (thus receiving a higher mean evaluation of 4.52), and the Chinese speaker of English viewed as the least proficient (thus receiving a lower mean evaluation of 2.75).

A particularly interesting finding for the present study was the significantly lower evaluation accorded to the Korean speaker of English by the Korean informants in comparison to the Chinese and the Japanese informants. This is especially surprising since, as discussed above (see Section

6.4.1.1), the Chinese and the Japanese informants appeared to exhibit a positive ingroup bias towards speakers of their same national group membership. As with the Chinese and the Japanese informants, the ability of the Korean informants ($n = 179$) to successfully identify the speaker who shared the same nationality was high (63.1%, $n = 113$). Therefore, the majority of the Korean informants correctly identified the speaker as Korean and knowingly accorded her with low evaluations. Although anxiety about the Korean variety of English has been demonstrated in language attitude studies involving Korean speakers of English (Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011; Yook & Lindemann, 2013), there is enough evidence to suggest that Korean informants tend to evaluate the Korean speech variety of English higher than ‘other’ non-native speaker varieties of English (Kim, 2007, Shin, 2011), a pattern which has also appeared in studies in the Japanese context (Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto, 1995; McKenzie, 2008a, 2010; Rivers, 2011). Thus, this negative ingroup bias appears to be an anomaly in need of further investigation.

To further understand the low evaluations accorded to the Indian and the Korean speakers of English by the Korean informants, it is useful to consider the overall mean evaluations for all five speakers by each national informant group. Analysis revealed that the Korean informants gave significantly lower evaluations overall ($M = 3.64$) than the Chinese ($M = 4.19$) and the Japanese ($M = 4.20$) informants, between whom there was no significant difference in their overall mean evaluations (see Section 5.2.2). This trend also appeared to be reflected in the results of the explicit attitude experiment, where the Chinese and the Japanese informants described the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean national groups in generally positive terms, whereas the Korean informants described the national groups negatively overall (see Section 6.2 above). It is also important to note the relative ambivalence Korean informants exhibited towards their own national group in comparison to the Chinese and the Japanese informants, who tended to describe their own national groups more positively than the other national groups. In contrast, the Korean informants described their own national group similar in positive terms to the Japanese national group (see Section 5.3.1).

Applying theories from the social identity approach (see Section 2.2) it may be tempting to conclude that the outgroup favouritism displayed by the Korean informants towards the Chinese

and Japanese informants may be a result of an acceptance of inferiority on a particular evaluative dimension. For instance, previous studies have shown that a bias may exist on status-relevant traits for outgroups depending on the context of the judgement (e.g. Terry & Callan, 1998). However, this outgroup favouritism is likely to be balanced by an ingroup favouritism on another dimension (e.g. status-irrelevant traits) in order to boost self-esteem. In the present study, the Korean informants appeared to judge the Korean national group on a similar dimension to the other national groups (i.e. solidarity), and thus it is difficult to ascertain whether self-esteem is raised by evaluating the Korean national group on another dimension, or based on other evaluative traits. In addition, outgroup favouritism does not satisfactorily explain why Korean informants in general evaluated the five speakers significantly lower as an informant group than the Chinese and the Japanese informants, and why the Korean informants evaluations were on average negative, whereas the Chinese and Japanese informants' evaluations were positive. It is perhaps necessary therefore to consider other factors that may have lead to the low evaluations of the Korean national group/speaker by the Korean informants.

The significantly lower overall speaker evaluations of the five speakers accorded by the Korean informants may be plausibly explained in line with the native/non-native dichotomy described above with regards to the Indian and the Korean speakers of English, and as supported by observations by Yook & Lindemann (2013). Perhaps, for instance, the Korean informants are generally more inclined to judge speakers in relation to standard native speaker models than the Chinese or the Japanese informants, thus downgrading any perceived non-native speaker varieties of English (and even perceived non-standard native speaker varieties of English) more than their East Asian counterparts. Thus, notions of correctness (in terms of standardised native speaker models taught in classrooms throughout Korea, predominantly General American – see Chapter 1) may be more important to Korean informants upon judging varieties of English speech. Furthermore, in the direct attitude experiment the Korean informants had a tendency to describe English in China, Japan and Korea in direct comparison with standard American English, with a particular focus on pronunciation (see Section 5.3.3). The Korean informants also expressed considerable anxiety when speaking English due to the fear of making (predominantly)

grammatical mistakes and/or not being understood clearly. It is interesting to note that many of these comments alluded to fear of conversing with native English speakers, which was much less prevalent in the comments among the Chinese and the Japanese informants. Thus anxiety over 'correctness' among the Korean informants may indicate a greater tendency to consciously compare their English speech with standard American English than the Chinese or the Japanese informants. However, this conclusion does not satisfactorily explain the overall lower evaluations also observed in the explicit attitude experiment, since these explicit attitudes were not based upon evaluations of English speech, but on attitudes towards East Asian national groups (i.e. China, Japan, and Korea).

Perhaps it is the case that informants of Korean nationality, in general, may be harsher judges than the Chinese and the Japanese informants of both themselves and others. This may explain why the Korean informants' evaluations of the speakers were significantly lower overall than the Chinese and the Japanese informants' evaluations, and that the Korean informants exhibited a significant negative ingroup bias towards the Korean speaker of English, while the Chinese and the Japanese informants exhibited a significant positive ingroup bias. It may also explain why, in the explicit attitude experiment, the Korean informants described the three national groups in generally negative terms, in comparison to the relatively positive explicit overall attitudes elicited by the Chinese and the Japanese informants, and were less inclined to describe their own national group positively, in contrast to the Chinese and the Japanese informants who once again demonstrated a stronger positive ingroup bias.

Although this conclusion cannot be fully ascertained by the research methodologies employed in the present study, a review of psychology literature among Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants may provide some insight into why Korean informants had a tendency to give lower evaluations. For example, numerous studies have investigated personality differences between citizens from cultures that ascribe to Confucius beliefs (i.e. China, Japan, Korea) and European-Americans. Previous studies demonstrated that Japanese and Chinese informants are generally more pessimistic (Lee & Seligman, 1997), more self-critical (Kitayama *et al.* 1997) and have a tendency to self-enhance less than European-Americans, both individually (Heine *et al.* 1999;

Kitayama *et al.* 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Rose *et al.* 2008), and in groups (Crocker *et al.* 1994; Endo *et al.* 2000; Heine & Lehman, 1997; Snibbe *et al.*, 2003). Research has also indicated that Asian-American students have demonstrated higher levels of perfectionism than Caucasian American students (Castro & Rice, 2003; Chang, 1998; Kawamura, Frost & Harmatz, 2002). For the information of the reader, “perfectionism” may be defined as “the striving for flawlessness” (Flett & Hewitt, 2002: 5). More specifically, studies that have focused upon Korean informants found that Koreans were significantly more pessimistic than European Americans, and that a lack of optimism had a direct significant effect on life satisfaction among Koreans (Chang, Sanna & Yang, 2003). However, these studies only highlight the differences in personality between informants of ‘Eastern’ and ‘Western’ cultures, and are not able to discern any differences between the personalities of Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants.

Nevertheless, studies that have focused solely upon Korean informants indicate that levels of perfectionism are indeed high, and may be prevalent among Koreans due to particularly strong parent-child bonds, high levels of pressure from parents for academic achievement, and a general fear about making mistakes (Lee & Park, 2011). Moreover, it is claimed that criticism is used as a strategy among Korean parents for encouraging rather than discouraging children (*ibid*), and may harbour high levels of perfectionism within Koreans. This drive for perfection was commented upon by a small number of Korean informants in the present study when asked to describe Korean nationals: “*smart but prefer to be perfect*” (informant #243); “*seek perfect*” (#346) “*perfectionism*” (#355). As a result, the pressure that Koreans feel to speak English perfectly may even affect their confidence and/or their willingness to communicate in English : “*want to speak all they know about something but not doing well*” (#201); “*shy*” (#208); “*most afraid to speak English*” (#220); “*little confidence*” (#232); “*I am afraid when something wrong*” (#256); “*unconfident*” (#264); “*unconfident*” (#281); “*sometimes afraid to speak with foreigner*” (#288); “*not enough confidence*” (#306); “*little shy*” (#314); “*shy when speaking English*” (#340); “*bad at speaking when people meet foreigner*” (#388); “*not confident*” (#400). Moreover, a lack of confidence in speaking English was further supported by general comments about English spoken by Koreans, which indicated a particularly strong preoccupation with ‘correctness’. For example: ‘*Koreans are shy*

when they try to speak English and feel afraid to be wrong' (#368); *'they think it must be perfect'* (#355); *'try to be perfect but not confident'* (#804).

It may be possible that a high desire for perfectionism, perpetuated by high parental pressure (through parental expectations and parental criticism), may unduly result in lower social judgments among young adult Koreans of themselves and others in comparison to Chinese and Japanese informants. This may offer one explanation for the overall lower evaluations among Korean informants in the present study both implicitly and explicitly. However, further investigation is necessary to ascertain whether issues of perfectionism, self-criticism, pessimism or self-esteem have an effect on social judgments, and whether these issues are more prevalent among Korean informants in comparison to Chinese and Japanese informants.

Although comparisons cannot at this time be made between Korea and other East Asian nations, the present study has nevertheless revealed interesting avenues for further study. Research comparing pessimism and perfectionism scales in the region may offer invaluable information about personality differences between informants in China, Japan and Korea, which may in turn be important for identifying and reducing possible issues that may hinder successful intercultural communication. Moreover, such issues may have wider implications for general mental health and well-being of citizens within South Korea (e.g. Chang, Sanna & Yang, 2003). It is therefore imperative that further studies are conducted in order to gain an in-depth understanding of personality among Koreans in comparison with other national groups.

6.4.1.3 The rating patterns for each speaker according to the nationality of the informants

Since the nationality of the informants was found to have a significant effect upon the evaluations of the speakers in the present study, it was felt beneficial to also investigate the ratings and rankings of each speaker according to the nationality of the informants. For the reader's information, the rankings of each speaker are listed below for the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informants in descending order, in addition to the mean speaker evaluation scores (M) and standard deviations (SD). Values marked with an asterisk show a significant difference with the ratings below.

Table 41: Ranking, mean evaluation scores and standard deviations according to the nationality of the informants

Chinese informants (n = 172)			Japanese Informants (n = 203)			Korean informants (n = 179)		
	M	SD		M	SD		M	SD
Indian speaker of English	5.06*	0.84	Indian speaker of English	5.20	0.76	Indian speaker of English	4.52*	0.79
Japanese speaker of English	4.27	0.79	Japanese speaker of English	5.11*	0.73	Japanese speaker of English	4.08*	0.81
Hong Kong speaker of English	4.17*	0.68	Korean speaker of English	4.08*	0.71	Hong Kong speaker of English	3.62*	0.80
Korean speaker of English	3.84*	0.71	Hong Kong speaker of English	3.74*	0.86	Korean speaker of English	3.25*	0.76
Chinese speaker of English	3.60	0.73	Chinese speaker of English	2.87	0.68	Chinese speaker of English	2.75	0.67

(mean evaluation score of 7 = the most favourable evaluation)

An inspection of Table 41 indicates that the rating patterns of each speaker were broadly similar for the informants regardless of their nationality. For each national group, the Indian and the Japanese speakers of English were evaluated positively and both significantly higher than the Hong Kong, the Korean and the Chinese speakers of English. Furthermore, the Chinese speaker of English was evaluated significantly lower than the other four speakers presented in the study by each of the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informant groups. Although the significant differences found between the speakers differed for each informant group (see Sections 6.4.1.1 and 6.4.1.2 for a discussion of the differences between the evaluations), there appeared to be a general hierarchy for each informant group, where the Indian speaker of English was rated most favourably, followed by the Japanese speaker of English, the Hong Kong speaker of English, the Korean speaker of English and finally the Chinese speaker of English. Only the Japanese informants slightly differed in their rating pattern, evaluating the Korean speakers of English significantly higher than the Hong Kong speaker of English. The resemblance in the rating patterns of the speakers for each informant group suggests that there may be underlying factors that result in the similar evaluation of the speakers in relation to one another.

It is a possibility that each informant group holds similar views about what constitute ‘notions of correctness’, upon which they may have based their evaluations. As described in Chapter 1, the dominant model used in English education in China, Japan and Korea is that of Standard English. More specifically, American English (in terms of American spellings, and phrases) and the pronunciation of Mid-West American accents are prevalent in the education systems of each

country. The dominance of these native speaker forms as classroom models may perpetuate the attitude that Inner Circle speaker varieties of English are more correct than non-native speaker varieties. For instance, findings of previous attitude studies of a similar design have shown that non-native speakers of English often accord significantly higher evaluations to native speakers of English (McKenzie, 2008a; 2010) or speakers that they perceive to be native speakers of English (Rivers, 2011). This may explain why the Indian speaker, who the majority of informants perceived to be a native speaker of English, was evaluated most favourably, while the other four speakers, who the majority of informants perceived to be non-native speakers of English, were evaluated significantly less favourably than the Indian speaker of English. This interpretation, however, would assume that the order/ranking of the Japanese, the Hong Kong/the Korean and the Chinese speakers of English was also based upon the perception that each speaker's English was more/less "correct" in relation to one another, where the Japanese speaker was deemed the most correct, and the Chinese speaker of English as the least correct. However, the labelling of the Japanese speakers as the most correct would appear surprising, since previous language attitude studies found that Japanese speakers of English were often denigrated and labelled as speaking 'bad' English (Jenkins, 2007; Matsuda, 2003; Shin, 2011), in addition to comments from the Chinese and the Korean informants in the present study describing Japanese English as '*incorrect*' and '*wrong*' (see Section 5.3.3).

Another possible factor that may have resulted in the similar ranking patterns for each informant group is the identification rates of the speakers. Previous language attitude research of a similar nature suggested that certainty about a speaker's group membership may lead to higher speaker evaluations (Ryan, 1983; Nesdale & Rooney, 1996). For instance, the Japanese speaker of English, who was correctly identified by the majority of the 554 informants (62.5%, $n = 346$), may have been accorded a more favourable evaluation due to a higher degree of certainty that the speaker was Japanese. However, there are problems with this interpretation. The identification rate of the Japanese speaker of English among the Chinese (35.5%, $n = 61$) and the Korean (53.1%, $n = 95$) informants, although generally high, was lower than the identification rate of the speakers who shared the same nationality as the informants (83.1% and 63.1% respectively). Thus, if certainty of

a speaker's origin was a major factor in the speaker evaluations, the Japanese speaker of English would have perhaps experienced lower ratings than the Chinese and the Korean speakers of English among the Chinese and Korean informants respectively. However, the Japanese speaker of English was accorded higher evaluation scores by the Chinese and the Korean informants than speakers of English from their own respective national groups. Moreover, the identification rate was not found to have a significant effect upon the informants' evaluations of the speakers (for a more in-depth discussion about the identification rates of each speaker see Section 6.5). However, it must be noted that a small interaction effect found between the nationality of the informants and their ability to identify speakers revealed that, for the Japanese informants, when English speakers were perceived to be native speakers of English they were evaluated significantly more favourably (see Section 5.2.3). However, this significant difference was only found for the evaluation of the Hong Kong speaker of English and thus must be interpreted tentatively.

Analysis of the informants' responses provided in the explicit attitude experiment in the present study may offer an insight into the higher evaluations accorded to the Japanese speaker of English. Firstly, the valence (i.e. positivity/negativity) of the stereotypical judgements was felt to reflect the speaker evaluations elicited in the verbal guise experiment (see Section 6.3). More specifically, results suggested the existence of an attitudinal hierarchy where Japanese nationals were accorded the most favourable descriptions, followed closely by the Korean national group, and finally, by generally negative descriptions of the Chinese national group. Secondly, positive descriptions of the national groups among the informants were found to have a small but statistically significant effect upon the speaker evaluations of the same national groups (See Section 6.3). In other words, informants who described the national groups positively, in general, accorded significantly higher evaluations to the speakers. The findings therefore suggested that positive and negative stereotypical judgements appeared to reflect the language attitudes elicited by indirect means in the verbal guise experiment, giving support to the *social connotation hypothesis* (Trudgill & Giles, 1978) that language attitudes reflect social connotations attached to perceived group members (see Chapter 2). However, the identification rate of the speakers was not found to have a significant effect upon the speaker evaluations (see Section 6.5), suggesting that the *perceived* group membership may not in fact be paramount, with the exception perhaps of the Japanese informants

who appeared to evaluated the Hong Kong speaker significantly more favourably when they perceived the speaker to be a native speaker of English (see Section 5.2.3).

Considering the similar rating patterns for each of the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informant groups, it could be concluded that the language attitudes may have reflected social connotations (i.e. stereotypes) held towards the group members regardless of conscious categorisation of the speaker's origin. This would suggest that the informants may have been able to implicitly 'recognise' the speaker varieties, triggering previously held attitudes towards each speaker variety. This conclusion is consistent with findings of previous language attitude research that implies that evaluative reactions may be a result of "stored, *subconscious information* based on previously acquired, media-transmitted stereotypes" (Ladegaard, 1998: 269, emphasis in original). Observations by Milroy & McClenaghan (1977: 8-9) further support this statement:

"It has been widely assumed that an accent acts as a cue identifying a speaker's group membership. Perhaps this identification takes place below the level of conscious awareness [...] In other words, accents with which people are familiar may directly evoke stereotyped responses without the listener first consciously assigning the speaker to a particular reference group."

Since the present study presented only speech recordings of young adults from Expanding Circle countries *speaking English* as speech stimuli, this conclusion appears more remarkable, and is testament to the widespread study (and use) of English in Eastern Asia. The present study thus suggests a general implicit familiarity with the English varieties presented in the study among the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informants. However, considering the age of informants involved in the study, first-hand experience of exposure to other non-native speakers of English is likely to be limited, and English in the media is likely to be dominated by American varieties of English (as transmitted via American TV shows/film). A thorough review of the exposure Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants receive towards Expanding Circle varieties of English would be necessary to draw any further conclusions regarding familiarity with the varieties presented in the present study.

Moreover, further empirical studies are needed to determine whether informants are able to implicitly recognise varieties of English speech, and if so, what causes this implicit recognition. For instance, since informants were only able to listen to the speakers, it is likely that recognition and/or explicit identification could be based upon specific phonological, morpho-syntactic or lexical information gained from hearing the speech varieties.

6.4.2 Gender

In the present study, no statistical significance was found between the evaluations of male informants and the evaluations of female informants. These findings are inconsistent with the findings of previous studies, which have identified broad differences in the way males and females evaluate English speech varieties. For instance, women were found to show greater sensitivity to prestigious/standard forms of speech (Kobayashi, 2002; Labov, 1972; Trudgill, 1974), and this gender variation was universal (Milroy & Milroy, 1998). More specifically, in previous studies involving Japanese informants, it was generally found that female informants tended to evaluate native speakers of English significantly more favourably on status/competence-related traits than Japanese males (McKenzie, 2008a, 2010). It was concluded that, since a number of language attitude studies had found significant differences in the attitudes of male and females towards varieties of English speech (e.g. McKenzie, 2010; Starks & Paltridge, 1996), it is possible that perceptions towards different varieties of English were experiencing a change.

One possible explanation for why no significant difference was found between the speech evaluations of male and female informants in the present study may be that females among the informant sample did not consider the varieties provided as speech stimuli in the present study prestigious. However, it is important to note that in McKenzie's (2010) study, there was no significant difference between male and female Japanese informants towards varieties of English when judging social attractiveness-related traits. Thus, it is possible that the traits selected for the evaluative scale in the present study may have represented the social attractiveness dimension, and may be why only one evaluative dimension was found (see Limitations – Section 7.2.1).

The results of the present study may also indicate that, while attitudes of males and females towards standard and non-standard varieties of English have been found to be significantly

different in previous studies (McKenzie, 2010; Starks & Paltridge, 1996), the attitude change may not extend to non-native speakers of English, since the present study focused only upon non-native speakers of English. In contrast, however, the present study may suggest a convergence of attitudes towards varieties of English between males and females, where males and females are more inclined to evaluate non-native speakers similarly.

However, the cross-cultural design of the present study means it is difficult to draw suitable comparisons between studies that focused solely on one national group as informants, and therefore conclusions must be interpreted with caution. Further investigation of East Asian informants' attitudes towards non-native speakers of English is necessary in order to ascertain whether speaker evaluations according to gender consistently do not reach significance, and to understand in more depth the attitudes towards non-native speakers of English.

6.5 Research question five: To what extent do patterns of identification and misidentification influence attitudes towards spoken forms of English?

The present study aimed to investigate the attitudes of Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants towards five Asian speakers of English. An indirect method, such as the verbal guise technique utilized in the present study, requires informants to rate different speakers on an evaluative scale in the absence of knowledge about the speakers' country of origin or ethnicity. Since it is widely believed that listeners judge language and language variety according to the social connotations associated with the group membership of the speakers (Bohner & Wänke, 2002; Trudgill and Giles, 1978), it is important to determine which speech forms informants perceive they are evaluating (McKenzie, 2008b, 2010; Yook & Lindemann, 2013). The present study thus included an identification task, where informants were asked to label each speech form after listening to a repeat of the speech stimuli that they had heard in the previous verbal guise experiment. The inclusion of an identification task also allowed for more accurate interpretation of the evaluations accorded to each speaker. The identification task did not provide a predetermined list nor did it

provide any clues to the origins of the speakers, in contrast to a number of previous language attitude studies (Kim, 2007; Rivers, 2011), since it was concluded that offering a choice of countries may confound the identification and or misidentification rates of speaker varieties. Although an open-ended question results in a more challenging task, the method reduces the uncertainty that informants may have merely guessed the country of origin of a speaker, thus resulting in a more accurate representation of informants' identification rate.

The labels provided for each speaker were varied. However, by creating a specific category for each perceived country of origin and calculating the frequency of responses, it was possible to statistically analyse whether the identification rate of the speakers had a significant effect on the speaker evaluations. Results of analyses demonstrated that the ability of informants to identify speakers (or not) did not have a statistically significant effect on the evaluation of the speakers (see Section 5.2.2). In other words, whether informants could accurately identify a speaker's origin was not a factor in their evaluation of the speaker. This is inconsistent with previous language attitude studies of a similar nature, the findings of which suggested that for Japanese and Korean informants, the ability to identify a speaker has a positive effect on the evaluation of the speaker (McKenzie, 2008b; Rivers, 2011; Yook & Lindemann, 2013), which supports theories that certainty of an individual's group membership may affect evaluations of the individual (Ryan, 1983; Nesdale & Rooney, 1996). That said, for the Japanese informants evidence suggests that, when the Hong Kong speaker of English was perceived to be a native speaker of English, a significantly more favourable evaluation was accorded to the speaker, which supports findings in previous language attitude studies that Japanese informants accord higher evaluations to perceived native speakers of English (Rivers, 2011). However, it is unclear why perceived native speakers were only evaluated significantly higher for the Hong Kong speaker of English, and may be an interesting avenue for further study.

In the same study by Rivers (2011), results indicated that Japanese informants evaluated speakers who they *perceived* to be native speakers of English more favourably than speakers who they perceived to be Japanese speakers of English, who in turn were rated more favourably than

speakers they perceived to be ‘other’ non-native speakers of English. In light of Rivers’ (2011) findings, in the case of the present study it was deemed useful to categorise the perceived country of origin of each speaker determined by whether informants perceived the speakers to be native or non-native speakers of English. As with the perceived country of origin, no significant difference was found between the speaker evaluations and whether the speakers were perceived to be native or non-native speakers of English. This result was particularly surprising since the Indian speaker was perceived to be a native speaker of English by the majority of the speakers, and received the most favourable mean evaluation score. Nevertheless, analysis did indicate a general trend that speakers perceived to be native speakers of English received higher evaluations than speakers perceived to be non-native speakers of English. However, the difference did not reach significance.

The fact that the evaluations of the perceived native/non-native speakers of English did not reach statistical significance may be a result of the perceived proficiency of speakers in comparison with standard native speaker English speaker models. A study by Yook & Lindemann (2013) among Korean university students employed a verbal guise technique to measure evaluations towards varieties of English, playing the speech stimuli to two groups, only one of which was informed prior to the study of the speakers’ nationalities/ethnicities. Most importantly for the present study, a non-standard or ‘stigmatised’ variety of English was included in the study, African American Vernacular English (AAVE), alongside Inner Circle varieties and a Korean speaker of English. Results indicated that the uninformed group accorded significantly higher evaluations to the AAVE speaker, both on status/competence and social attractiveness-related traits, than the informant group who had been informed of the speaker’s nationality/ethnicity before the speech evaluation task. Yook & Lindemann (2013) concluded that the native/non-native distinction was important when evaluating the speaker. Furthermore, the difference in evaluations, where informants who knew the speaker was a native speaker English gave lower evaluations than those who did not, may have been a result of informants expressing “a more general irritation that [a native speaker] does not speak ‘better’, consistent with unrealistic beliefs about native English” (ibid : 292). In contrast, the uninformed group may have categorised the AAVE speaker as a non-native speaker of English, but

accorded a higher evaluation due to perceiving the speaker as a ‘highly proficient’ speaker of English.

Thus, in the case of the present study, perhaps speakers that were categorised as native speakers of English were downgraded due to a perception that they did not speak consistent with a standard native speaker English. In contrast, speakers categorised as non-native speakers of English (in particular the Japanese speaker of English) may have been evaluated higher due to the perception that they were highly proficient in English. The subsequent downgrading of native speakers of English and upgrading of non-native speakers of English may therefore explain why no significant difference was found between speakers perceived to be native speakers of English, and speakers perceived to be non-native speakers of English. However, without further information regarding the speakers’ perceived proficiency, this conclusion is speculative and must be interpreted tentatively.

Although no significant effects were found between the speaker evaluations and the extent to which informants were able to identify speakers, or their categorisation as native/non-native speakers of English, meaningful trends were observed in the informants’ identification rates. Firstly, in general, accurate identification of the speakers proved to be problematic for a large number of informants, the majority of whom were only able to correctly identify one or two of the speakers’ countries of origin. Analysis of the data indicated that, in general, accurate identification was possible for speakers who shared the same nationality as the informants, in addition to a high identification rate for the Japanese speaker of English. This finding may demonstrate a relative lack of familiarity with ‘other’ Asian non-native speaker English varieties/accents among young Chinese, Japanese and Korean adults. This finding is not surprising, since the identification task was open-ended, making the task more difficult, and that in previous studies of a similar nature non-native speakers of English have also been found to have difficulty identifying ‘other’ non-native speakers of English (e.g. Kim, 2007; McKenzie, 2008b; 2010; Rivers, 2011; Zhang, 2011).

Secondly, the rate of identification of speakers who shared the same nationality as the informants was generally accurate. 83.1% of Chinese informants could identify speakers of their own

nationality, in comparison to 93.6% of the Japanese informants, and 63.1% of the Korean informants. This result was not surprising since language attitude studies involving non-native speakers of English have indicated that speakers of the informants' own group membership often enjoy higher rates of identification (Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto, 1995; McKenzie, 2008b, 2010; Rivers, 2011; Yook & Lindemann, 2013; Zhang, 2011). For the present study, it is reasonable therefore to conclude that higher identification rates for speakers of English from the same nationality as the listeners are a result of greater familiarity and exposure to that language variety.

Thirdly, analysis of the data indicated a high identification rate for the Japanese speaker of English among the other informant groups, with over half of the 179 Korean informants (53.1%, $n = 95$), and one-third of the 172 Chinese informants (35.5%, $n = 61$) correctly identifying the speaker as Japanese. This finding suggests a familiarity with the Japanese form/accent of English speech in China and Korea. However, despite the popularity of Japanese media (in particular anime, and Japanese pop music) in China and Korea, it is unlikely that the Chinese and the Korean informants will have widespread exposure to Japanese individuals in the media *speaking English*, with the exception perhaps of the limited use of English words in Japanese pop songs. Indeed, informal discussions with the informants following the completion of the present study appeared to suggest that the informants in China and Korea were generally able to identify the Japanese speaker of English but could not recall any instances where they had heard a Japanese person speaking English. The exposure to Japanese speakers of English is likely to be limited in both China and Korea to personal contact and/or the use of English vocabulary in Japanese pop music. However, it is necessary to conduct a thorough review into the amount of exposure to Japanese English speech forms in China and Korea in order to support this conclusion. Interpretation of the high identification rate for the Japanese speaker of English among Chinese and Korean informants is therefore speculative. Nevertheless, possibilities for the higher identification rate are discussed below.

One possible explanation for the familiarity of Japanese forms of English among the Korean informants could be a greater awareness of Japanese phonology of English nativised words

transmitted into Korean during the Japanese rule of the Korean peninsula (see Chapter 1). These Japanese-style English words (*garaigo*) are marked with phonological characteristics distinctive from Korean and/or English pronunciation, after undergoing a process of transvocalisation. One such phonological characteristic is the general lack of central vowels in Japanese phonology, resulting in unstressed English phonemes being pronounced with stress. For instance, when transmitted into the Japanese language, the pronunciation of unstressed ‘schwa’ /ə/ in English words is often pronounced as an open front unrounded vowel /æ/. For instance, the word *meter*, pronounced in standardised English as /'mi:tə/ is pronounced in Japanese as /me:tæ:/ (Romanised: *meetaa*). It is claimed that the influence of English through the Japanese language has resulted in multiple pronunciations of many English words nativised into the Korean language through Japanese, with varying influence from Japanese phonology (Kang et al. 2008). In Korean, for example, there are three possible pronunciations for *meter*, (i) /medæ/ from the Japanese form /me:tæ:/ (as discussed above) (ii) /'mi:tə/ from the standardised English form, and (iii) /'metə/ a mixture of the two, using the vowel pronunciation /e/ from the Japanese form, but retaining the central vowel /ə/ from the English form (Kang et al., 2008) since there is a central vowel /ʌ:/ present in the Korean phonological system, which is pronounced somewhere between /ə/ and /ʊ/ in the English phonological system.

Evidence suggests that some Japanese-English phonology for English nativised words within the Korean language has been resistant to change (Kang et al., 2008), despite “purification” efforts of The National Institute of the Korean Language (Harkness, 2012). In addition, even modern English words nativised into the Korean language may “bear the residue of Japanese phonology as a productive structure for pronunciation” (ibid, 2012: 362). Thus, there may be a greater awareness/familiarity of Japanese phonological characteristics among Korean informants due to the lasting influence of the Japanese colonisation of the Korean peninsula, perhaps resulting in the higher identification of the Japanese speaker of English in the present study. However, this does not explain how over one third (35.5%) of the Chinese informants were able correctly identify the Japanese speaker of English’s country of origin, a relatively high identification rate considering the open-ended nature of the identification task.

Another possibility for the high identification rate of the Japanese speaker of English among the Chinese and Korean informants may be a greater awareness among the Chinese and the Korean informants of Japanese phonological characteristics through the exposure to the Japanese language (in contrast to through Japanese pronunciation of English words as described above). Japanese media such as film and Japanese pop music, in addition to depictions of Japanese in local film are more likely to increase the exposure to Japanese people *speaking Japanese* rather than Japanese people *speaking English* as was provided as the speech stimulus in the present study. Furthermore, Japanese language classes are popular in China and Korea, and may increase awareness of Japanese phonological characteristics. Thus, in the present study, a higher identification rate for the Japanese speaker among the Chinese and Korean informants may have been a result of identifiable Japanese-style phonology through the speaker's English speech.

Such a conclusion assumes a direct influence of the Japanese speaker's first language (L1) (Japanese) upon her second language (L2) (English), an issue that is much debated in second language acquisition theory. It is believed that a number of factors may affect L2 pronunciation, such as the age that second language learning begins, motivation to learn the second language, language learning aptitude, and the type of formal language instruction among others (for a detailed outline see Piske, Mackay & Fledge, 2001). Theories of speech perception and phonological acquisition also attempt to explain how L2 accents are constituted. Flege's *speech learning model* (cf. Fledge, 1995, 1997) posits that the perception of new sounds is underpinned by the phonetic categories acquired through a speaker's L1. Kuhl's *native language magnet model* (cf. Kuhl & Iverson, 1995) goes one step further, claiming that phonetic categories of the L1 act as a 'perceptual magnet', pulling sounds of other languages towards the L1 phonetic categories, and which may result in L1-influenced production of an L2. However, the models of Flege and Kuhl both assume a critical period of learning and cannot account for native-like pronunciation found in some non-native speakers of English. Escudero (2007) proposed the *linguistic perception model*, which claims that the L1 and L2 of learners are based upon two separate, but linked, systems of perception. The first system in Escudero's *linguistic perception model* is based upon perceptual and

phonetic categories acquired through the L1, and the second system is a 'copy' created of the first system, which is then adjusted to meet the perceptual and phonetic categories of the L2. Thus, the accentedness of L2 speech is determined by the level that the second perceptual system is adjusted to meet the L2 categories, and provides an explanation for the existence of 'foreign accents' and 'native-like' pronunciation among non-native speakers of English.

Since the Japanese speaker of English provided as speech stimulus in the present study was selected as the most representative by other Japanese informants in a pilot study, it is likely that the speaker exhibited some identifiable Japanese phonological characteristics in her English speech, which may have contributed to the higher identification rate of the speaker among the Chinese and the Korean informants. Thus, the Japanese speaker of English in the present study is more likely to be viewed as having a 'foreign accent' than having a 'native-like' English accent (for an overview of notable speech characteristics of the Japanese speaker of English see Section 4.7.5). In the direct attitude experiment, both the Chinese and the Korean informants also demonstrated an awareness of what they perceived to be typical characteristics of English spoken in Japan. Comments provided by the Chinese and the Korean informants highlighted 'Japanese-style' pronunciation as the main characteristic of Japanese English, due to the heavy influence of Japanese phonology. Thus, the Japanese speaker of English may have been more familiar to the Chinese and the Korean informants than the other speaker varieties (with the exception of the speaker from their own national group), and this may have contributed to the more accurate identification of the Japanese speaker of English. It must be noted however that the primary focus of the present study was not on phonological characteristics of English, the possible influence of L1 on L2 (or other languages), or social cognition, and the conclusions above should be interpreted carefully. Nevertheless, tentative conclusions were provided in order to explain the notably high identification rates for the Japanese speaker of English, and may provide interesting avenues for further study.

Fourthly, despite difficulties in informants specifically identifying the country of origin of the speakers, informants were generally successful at placing the Japanese, the Korean, the Chinese and the Hong Kong speakers of English as Eastern Asian in origin. This suggests a familiarity with

phonological, morpho-syntactic and/or lexical features exhibited in Eastern Asian speakers of English. However, since the focus of the present study was not precisely focused upon the phonological features of non-native speaker English, it is difficult to interpret the reasons for the general success in the identification of Eastern Asian speakers among the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informants. Further research is needed in order to determine whether identification of Eastern Asian speakers of English is consistent, and if so what features of speech contribute to the successful identification.

Chapter 7: Conclusions, recommendations and limitations

Overview

Chapter 6 provided an in-depth discussion of each research question, offering possible explanations for the findings of the present study, and drawing conclusions where possible. This chapter presents an overview of the main conclusions drawn in Chapter 6, outlining broader trends found as a result of the three-part research experiment. Furthermore, potential implications will be discussed, in addition to recommendations for further study. The chapter concludes by highlighting to the reader possible limitations of the study.

7.1 Conclusions and recommendations

7.1.1 The Japanese speaker of English was accorded generally high evaluations

One particularly surprising finding was the relatively favourable evaluations of the Japanese speaker of English, who was evaluated significantly higher than all of the speakers, with the exception of the Indian speaker of English (who was concluded to have been accorded higher evaluations due to the general perception that she was a native speaker of English). The high evaluation of the Japanese speaker of English was surprising because previous language attitude studies among similar informants had demonstrated that the Japanese variety was often denigrated and labelled as ‘bad’ English (Jenkins, 2007; Matsuda, 2003; Shin, 2011). In addition, in the present study, Japan’s English speech was described as ‘*incorrect*’, and ‘*wrong*’ by the Chinese and the Korean informants, with a particular influence on its ‘*bad pronunciation*’ (see Section 5.3.3). Moreover, the higher evaluations accorded to the Japanese speaker of English by the Chinese and Korean informants were inconsistent with previous findings that ‘other’ non-native speakers are generally evaluated lower than speakers who share the same nationality of the speakers (Kim, 2007,

Rivers, 2011; Shin, 2011). However, in the case of the present study, the Chinese and the Korean informants rated the Japanese speaker of English significantly higher than speakers of their own variety of English.

Moreover, the identification rate of the Japanese speaker of English was high, with 62.5% ($n = 345$) of the 554 informants correctly identifying the speaker's country of origin. The identification rate among the Japanese informants was not surprising, since the informants are likely to be more familiar with a Japanese speaker of English. However, the identification rate for the Japanese speaker of English was particularly high among the 179 Korean informants, over half (53.1%, $n = 95$) of whom were able to correctly identify the country of origin of the speaker. It is a possibility that certainty of group membership may have been a factor that led to the higher evaluation of the Japanese speaker of English, although the high identification rates (yet lower evaluations) of the Chinese and the Korean informants' own speaker varieties appeared to somewhat weaken this conclusion.

Results of the explicit attitude experiment indicated that the informants gave generally positive evaluations towards the Japanese speaker of English, and that this general positivity towards Japanese nationals may have been a factor in the high evaluation of the speaker. This was further supported by the fact that positive explicit attitudes (i.e. description of national groups) were found to result in significantly higher implicit attitudes (i.e. speaker evaluations). Therefore, it may be the case that the Japanese national group and/or speaker of English were generally deemed more likeable by the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informants than the other speakers/nationalities who were investigated in the present study. However, without further studies to support the findings of the present study, it is necessary for more research to determine whether (i) Chinese and Korean informants consistently hold generally favourable attitudes towards Japanese speakers of English and/or national groups (ii) if so, what features of speech (if any) affect evaluations of Japanese speakers of English and (iii) if Japanese speakers of English are consistently identified correctly as Japanese, and if so, why?

Nevertheless, in contrast to previous language attitudes studies that found Japanese varieties of English to be denigrated (Matsuda, 2003; Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011), the present study may indicate a changing attitude towards Japanese speakers of English among Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants.

7.1.2 Identification of ‘other’ non-native speaker varieties was difficult

With the exception of the Japanese speaker of English, the informants in the present study had particular difficulty correctly identifying ‘other’ non-native speakers of English. Consistent with previous language attitude studies, the informants were generally able to categorise the speakers as non-native speakers of English (with the exception of the Indian speaker of English, who may have been misidentified as a native speaker of English due to a higher speech rate), and identify speakers of English with whom they share the same nationality. Also consistent with previous language attitude studies, once speakers were categorised as non-native speakers of English, informants found it difficult to categorise the speakers more specifically in terms of their country of origin (Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto, 1995; Kim, 2007; McKenzie, 2010; Rivers, 2010; Shim, 2002; Zhang, 2011).

The difficulty in correctly identifying other non-native speakers of English suggests a general lack of awareness of East Asian varieties of English among the informants of the present study. Further exposure may be needed to raise awareness of non-native speaker varieties among Chinese, Japanese and Korean English language learners. The author of the present study thus advocates the inclusion of more non-native varieties into English language teaching programmes in order to increase exposure to, and awareness of, varieties and speech forms of English that are spoken throughout the Outer and Expanding Circles of English.

The present study also supports the calls from a number of researchers (McKenzie, 2010; Yook & Lindemann, 2013) for the inclusion of an identification task in tandem with speaker evaluation experiments, in order to increase the accuracy of interpreting results.

7.1.3 Speaker evaluations differed significantly according to the nationality of the informants

A finding of particular importance in the present study was the large significant difference found between the nationality of the informants and the evaluations of the speakers. Previous language attitudes had focused upon informant samples that were homogenous in terms of their nationality. However, the present study employed a cross-cultural comparative design that enabled a direct comparison between the evaluations of Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants using the same research instrument. The significant difference between the informants' evaluations was found to be underpinned by two main differences. Firstly, there was an ingroup bias exhibited by the Chinese and the Japanese informants, and a negative ingroup bias exhibited by the Korean informants towards their own speakers. In addition the Korean informants evaluated the Indian speaker of English significantly lower than the Chinese and the Japanese informants, perhaps due to generally categorising her as a non-native speaker. Secondly, the Korean informants accorded significantly lower overall evaluations to all five speakers of English than the Chinese and the Japanese informants, who did not significantly differ in their evaluations.

It was concluded that the negative evaluations accorded by the Korean informants may be a result of stricter judgements in comparison to English native speaker models than the Chinese and the Japanese informants. Alternatively, Korean informants may be harsher judges of both themselves and others, resulting in lower social judgements. This conclusion was supported by findings in the explicit attitude experiment, which indicated a relative ambivalence towards the Korean national group among the Korean informants, in contrast to the positive ingroup bias exhibited by the Chinese and the Japanese national groups. Furthermore, explicit attitudes among the Korean informants were generally less favourable for all three national groups in comparison to the Chinese and the Japanese informants.

It is not clear what caused the significantly lower implicit and explicit attitudes among the Korean informants, but a review of studies investigating personality among Korean informants indicated generally high levels of perfectionism, pessimism and/or self-criticism among Koreans, in addition to low self-esteem. However there is a dearth of studies investigating personality differences

between Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants, therefore further research is necessary to determine whether (or not) issues of perfectionism, self-esteem, pessimism, and/or self-criticism are significantly different from other national groups, and if these issues have an effect on social judgements.

Due to the findings and/or conclusions, the author of the present study recommends two main research areas. Firstly, it is important for researchers to design and conduct a greater number of cross-cultural comparative attitude studies (language attitudes or otherwise) in order to identify any differences in social/speaker judgements, which may help to gain a more in-depth understanding of differences in personality between national groups. Secondly, research is needed to determine whether (or not) general differences in social judgements, e.g. in the significantly lower evaluations of Korean informants than Chinese and Japanese informants, may affect behaviour in intercultural interactions. If intercultural interactions are affected by generally lower social judgements, strategies such as those taught in intercultural training may need to be incorporated into education systems and/or English language teaching programmes to maximise the opportunity for successful intercultural communication.

7.1.4 Evaluations towards East Asian informants' own English speech forms are complex

Findings of the present study suggest that evaluations towards own English speech forms are complex. An identification task indicated that informants were generally successful in identifying a speaker of English who shared the same nationality as themselves. Thus, there was a confidence that evaluations towards the speakers were suitably reliable. The findings indicated that the Japanese and the Chinese informants were significantly more favourable towards speakers of their own variety than the informants of other nationalities. However, while the Chinese informants accorded their own speaker with a higher evaluation than the Japanese and the Korean informants, the evaluation was significantly lower than their evaluations of the other four speakers. In contrast, the Japanese informants rated their own speaker significantly most favourably, along with the Indian speaker of English.

Another surprising finding for the present study was the significantly lower evaluation accorded to the Korean speaker of English by the Korean informants in comparison to the Chinese and the

Japanese informants. This negative ingroup bias was in contrast to the positive ingroup bias exhibited by the Chinese and the Japanese informants (as described above). It was concluded that the Korean informants were either more strict in evaluating non-native speakers of English in comparison to native speaker models, or were more harsh in their social judgements towards the self and others in general. More research is necessary to investigate the evaluations towards own English forms among Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants.

Comments provided by informants describing English as generally spoken by Chinese, Japanese and Koreans indicated that the Japanese and the Korean informants expressed considerable anxiety about their English speech. For example, the Japanese informants appeared to lack confidence in their English pronunciation (according to 'Standard' English pronunciation rules) and their overall English language ability, whereas the Korean informants generally expressed anxiety about making grammatical mistakes. Anxiety about English speech among Japanese and Korean informants has also been found in a previous study (Tokumoto & Shibata, 2011). Therefore, in light of the support added by the present study, further research into anxiety and strategies to manage anxiety of speaking English may be beneficial for learners of English in Japan and Korea.

The Chinese informants, however, appeared to be more confident about their English speech and certainly less concerned about adhering to Standard native English speaker rules of pronunciation. The findings of the present study are consistent with previous language attitude studies among Chinese informants, who have previously indicated a relative positivity towards incorporating Chinese characteristics into their English speech (Bian, 2009; He & Li, 2009). Furthermore, Chinese informants in the present study appeared to exhibit an awareness of variation of English speech *within* China. In other words, many of the informants were aware of differences in the accents of Chinese speakers of English according to their regional provenance. Since nearly one third of China's population is estimated to have studied English, it is believed that China may have a major influence on the future of global English (Graddol, 2007). Thus, the awareness of, and the attitudes towards, different varieties (or, more specifically, accents) of English among Chinese informants is an important area for future language attitude research.

7.1.5 Recognition of speech forms may occur below the level of consciousness

Findings of the present study demonstrated that there was no significant difference between the identification rates of speakers, nor whether speakers were perceived to be native or non-native speakers of English, and the evaluations accorded to the speakers. In addition, analysis of the ratings for each of the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informant groups indicated that, despite significant differences in the evaluations accorded to the speakers, the rating patterns for each informant group were broadly similar (for more information see the overview in Section 6.4.1). In particular, the Indian speaker was rated significantly most favourably, followed by the Japanese speaker of English, the Hong Kong and/or the Korean speakers of English, and finally the Chinese speaker of English. Moreover, the Indian and the Japanese speakers of English were rated favourably (i.e. above the mid-point of 4.0) by all the informants groups, and the Chinese speaker was rated unfavourably by a significant margin.

It is possible that specific phonological, morpho-syntactic and/or lexical characteristics may explain the similarity in ranking of the speakers for each informant group i.e. that some speech forms may have been more aesthetically pleasing than others. However, since language attitudes are believed to reflect social connotations (i.e. prejudice and/or stereotypes) towards members of the speech community rather than inherent differences in the language or language varieties (see Chapter 2), it was concluded that recognition of the speech forms featured in the present study may have occurred without conscious categorisation of the speakers into group memberships. In other words, an implicit familiarity with the speech forms may have evoked stereotypical reactions towards the speakers, despite informants being unable to explicitly identify the speakers' countries of origin. This implicit recognition was further supported by the finding of the present study that the explicit attitudes (i.e. stereotypes) had a small but significant effect upon the speaker evaluations.

Although the conclusion cannot be confirmed without further research using implicit research methods to investigate the identification of English varieties/forms of speech, the implications of such a finding would suggest that stored stereotypical information (whether implicit or explicit) of

different national groups may affect social judgements towards speakers of English. If this is the case, it raises the possibility that social stereotypes may also affect behaviour towards social groups or individual members of social groups, and that this may occur below the level of consciousness. In other words, speakers/interlocutors involved in interactions may be unaware that they are exhibiting behaviour based upon stereotypes. This is particularly important for intercultural communication, the success of which may depend on the stereotypes held either implicitly or explicitly towards social groups or individual members of social groups. Strategies for reducing stereotypical judgements may thus be beneficial, either generally, as part of a national curriculum, or more specifically in English language teaching programmes, since the primary aim of learning English among speakers for whom English is not a first language is for intercultural exchange.

The present study has highlighted the need for further research in language attitudes, in particular of a cross-cultural design. The present study has demonstrated that the nationality of informants can have a significant effect on evaluations towards non-native speakers of English (more specifically South Asian/East Asian varieties), and concluded that this difference may be a result of perceived notions of correctness and/or a result of wider psychological phenomena such as issues of self-esteem. Furthermore, explicit attitudes towards national groups were found to have a significant effect on the implicit attitudes (evaluations towards speakers of English), and therefore stereotypical information held towards social groups may affect speaker evaluations. It was concluded that this stereotypical information may be evoked implicitly as well as explicitly, raising possible implications for speaker interactions. The present study also highlighted the importance of including an identification task in language attitudes studies, which aids in accurately interpreting results. Finally, due to the predictions for the future of English, and its primary function as a lingua franca between speakers for whom English is not a first language, it is important for researchers to continue the focus upon Outer Circle and Expanding Circle attitudes towards attitudes towards English forms of speech in order to identify issues that may hinder successful intercultural communication.

7.2 Limitations of the study

The present study employed a mixed methodology in order to investigate the language attitudes of non-native speakers of English in China, Japan and Korea, and factors that may underpin such attitudes. Although the research instrument was subject to a rigorous selection and design process (see Chapter 4), there are a number of limitations that the author wishes to highlight, in order to ensure the reader is aware of issues that may have confounded the validity and/or interpretation of results. For that purpose, limitations have been listed and discussed below, and presented in four sections, focusing on the design, procedure, analysis and timing of the study. The limitations are intended as an acknowledgement of the shortcomings of the study, and to highlight areas that future research may wish to avoid, explore or expand upon.

7.2.1 Experiment design

The semantic-differential scale utilised in the verbal guise experiment for the present study included seven bipolar adjectives on which informants were asked to judge five speakers of English (see Section 4.7.6). Since the aim of the present study was to investigate international cross-cultural attitudes towards speakers of English, it was necessary to identify adjectives deemed suitable for judging speakers for each of the Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups. The selection of traits was therefore based upon common adjectives elicited by Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants in a pilot study, in order to create one semantic-differential scale that represented evaluative criteria for all three informant groups. It is however important to acknowledge that while the design procedure was rigorous and took into account the similarities and differences in elicited adjectives, evaluative frameworks by their very nature are believed to be culturally-specific (Osgood, 1964; McKenzie, 2008b), and therefore attempting to devise a common evaluative scale in relation to three nationalities is problematic.

In addition, due to time and cost constraints, the elicitation of traits for inclusion in the semantic-differential scale was conducted during a pilot study using Chinese, Japanese and Korean international students in the UK, which may have affected the adjectives elicited. During the pilot

study, informants were required to listen to, and describe, the five speakers selected for the final study, and write adjectives to describe each speaker. Although informants were not asked to identify the country of origin of the speakers, it is a possibility that a categorisation of each speaker was made during the task. Since the informants who participated in the pilot study were living and studying in the UK, it may be possible that, due to increased exposure to a variety of native and non-native speakers at their university of study, the informants were more adept at identifying the five speakers than the informants who participated in the final study. Adjectives elicited therefore may have been affected by the perceived group membership of the speakers. Nevertheless, attempts were made, where possible, to find informants that had only been in the UK for a short time before completing the pilot study, thus limiting any effect that living and studying in the UK may have had upon the informants' descriptions.

Moreover, due to the author's lack of expert knowledge of Mandarin Chinese, Japanese and Korean languages, the pilot study asked for adjectives to describe the speakers in English only. This may be problematic because the meanings and connotations of adjectives may not directly translate from the informants' first language into English, and the meaning and connotations of words may differ between the four languages. The procedure of the pilot study attempted to limit the ambiguity of meaning by firstly asking informants to write three adjectives to describe each speaker as they listened to the recordings, and once the task was completed, informants were given time to write the antonyms of the listed adjectives in order to give the author a clearer idea about the meaning and valence of the descriptions.

As described in Section 4.7.6, once adjectives and their antonyms were collected, each trait was counted and ordered by frequency of occurrence in order to identify common descriptions elicited by the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informants in the pilot study, with the aim of constructing a common evaluative scale. Despite detailed analysis of the traits, the selection of adjectives for the semantic-differential scale nevertheless involved subjective judgment and reasoning by the author. For instance, although selection of evaluative criteria was based upon the frequency with which adjectives were elicited in the pilot study, many adjectives had similar meaning (e.g. '*shy*' and '*nervous*'), and were often identified as similar due to bipolar pairings (e.g.

'shy' and *'confident'*, *'nervous'* and *'confident'*). The author was required to select the appropriate bipolar pairings based upon frequency. However, a high frequency of occurrences may have been the result of one informant nationality group using one adjective more often than another. Thus, although overall frequency was a major deciding factor, a level of subjective judgement was necessary in order to avoid use of adjectives with similar meanings.

Since the evaluative criteria were designed using individuals of the target informant groups (i.e. Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants) the traits selected differed from previous language attitude studies. For this reason it may be difficult to draw valid comparisons. Previous language attitudes studies either used predetermined evaluative items from studies such as Lambert et al. (1960) and Zahn & Hopper (1985), or used pilot studies to devise evaluative scales specifically for the target informant group, which generally focused upon one national group only (e.g. Chinese: Zhang, 2011; Japanese: McKenzie, 2010; Korean: Yook & Lindemann, 2013). Thus, although the preliminary discussion (see Chapter 5) of results drew comparisons with relevant language attitude studies, it must be highlighted that no two studies are directly comparable unless replicate design methodology is employed and an effort is made to keep testing conditions the same. The author has drawn attention to similarities and differences in previous studies where possible, however the reader is encouraged to interpret comparisons tentatively.

In order to minimise potentially confounding variables in evaluation of the speech samples, the recording of speech samples would ideally be completed under identical conditions in a high-quality sound studio. However, due to the difficulty in identifying, locating and recording suitable speakers from (Mainland) China, Hong Kong, India, Japan and (South) Korea, it was necessary to record speakers in different locations, since the author was often required to travel to meet speakers that had volunteered to be recorded for the study, and thus acoustic properties of the locations may have differed. Nevertheless, speech samples were always recorded in quiet areas, and software was used to normalise the volume and quality of the speech samples where possible.

Choice of speech sample recordings were based upon “representative” speakers from each country, as chosen by informants that shared the same nationality as the speakers (see Section 4.7.3). However, speech analysis was not conducted to determine other factors that could affect evaluation

i.e. speech rate, intonation, pauses/hesitations, as with other studies that had a greater focus on linguistic features of speech (e.g. Beinhoff, 2009; van den Doel, 2006). Nevertheless, attempts were made to use recordings of similar length, speakers of similar age, and speech sample volumes were normalised to reduce speaker differences where possible. Future research may wish to focus on specific linguistic features of speech in order to further investigate the factors which affect speech evaluation and/or categorisation in China, Japan and Korea.

As previously mentioned only one ‘representative’ speaker of each nationality was chosen to participate in the study (see Section 4.7.3). There was no attempt to account for the heterogeneous nature of English speech within each country (as highlighted by the occasional identification of the Chinese speaker of English among Chinese informants as ‘North China’ or ‘South China’). Previous language attitude studies included speakers with a range of accents (e.g. He & Li, 2009; McKenzie, 2010) for example a moderately-accented Japanese speaker of English and a heavily-accented Japanese speaker of English (e.g. McKenzie, 2010). Indeed, a range of accent strengths would have been an interesting addition to the study, however the author aimed to keep the scope of the study at a realistic level, and due to the comparative nature of the study (in terms of informant samples), it was felt that the inclusion of further speakers would have complicated the analysis by introducing too many dependent variables for the analysis of the data.

In addition, debate currently surrounds the nature of implicit attitudes and their measurements (for an overview see Gawronski, 2009). Many attitude studies view implicit attitudes as ‘automatic’ and ‘uncontrollable’ and only inferred through indirect measures where informants have no control over their responses e.g. through facial electromyography (EMG – see Cacioppo *et al.* 1986) and image/word association responses (Fazio *et al.*, 1995; Greenwald, McGee & Schwartz, 1998; Wittenbrink, Judd & Park, 2001). Although the verbal guise experiment in the present study was labelled as an implicit measurement, the one minute duration of the speech recordings may have allowed informants time to judge the speakers consciously. For instance, high identification rates of certain speech varieties in the present study (in particular the Japanese speaker of English, and the speakers for whom the informants shared the same nationality) indicate that some judgements were may have been made consciously, therefore the measurement may not have overcome issues of

social desirability and self-presentation as intended in the research instrument design (see Section 4.4.1). It is important to note that correspondence between implicit measures and self-reports have been shown to be complex, and therefore regardless of which implicit measurement is employed for attitude studies, *social desirability bias* may be difficult to overcome (see Hoffman *et al.*, 2005). Thus, the verbal guise experiment included in the present study was labelled as an implicit measurement, not due to perceived ‘automaticity’ or ‘uncontrollability’ of responses, but because informants were generally unaware of what or who they were being asked to evaluate (Garrett, 2010). Nevertheless, the author of the present study calls for cross-disciplinary collaboration amongst researchers in sociolinguistics, cognitive sciences and the different fields of psychology in order to devise new and reliable methods of measuring implicit attitudes towards language and language varieties.

In order to measure stereotypes held towards Chinese, Japanese and Korean national groups, the present study used a direct method i.e. by simply asking informants to describe the personality of a typical person from China, Japan and Korea. Due to the direct nature of the experiment, it is plausible that a number of informants withheld their true thoughts and/or feelings towards the target national groups in the attempt to avoid reporting descriptions that may be seen as socially unacceptable. It is important to highlight that there are alternative ways for stereotype measurement, which may measure automatic stereotypes indirectly, such as use of priming techniques (Blair & Banaji, 1996; Judd & Park, 2001), and the implicit association test (Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998). Since observations in the present study have been made regarding possible implicit recognition of speaker varieties and/or automatic stereotypical activation and application (see Section 6.4.1.3), the author believes it will be beneficial to further investigate social cognition and stereotypes among Chinese, Japanese and Korean informants using indirect measures.

7.2.2 Survey procedure

Due to the ambitious nature of the present study, contacting and finding willing universities to participate in the study in China, Japan and Korea was a challenging process. It was thus necessary for the author to employ opportunity sampling methods, i.e. it was difficult to be too selective about the institutes who participated in the study and the subject of study of the informants. As a

result, the participating universities varied in their methods of English language provision and delivery. However, since the study focused upon informants in tertiary education, where students were required to pass exams in English skills, and the fact that English language instruction is compulsory (or the *de facto* foreign language of study) in secondary, and in some cases primary education in China, Japan and Korea (see Chapter 1), the author was confident that informants would have a sufficient knowledge of English to complete the survey. Nevertheless, survey instructions were provided in both English and the first language of the informants in order to minimise any misunderstandings due to language and care was taken to ensure translations were as accurate as possible using a reverse translation method. Instructions were also given verbally by the author throughout the survey procedure.

Furthermore, informants were asked to complete the survey in English, which may have been challenging for students with lower English language ability and/or lower confidence levels. Nevertheless, care was taken to reassure students that grammatical correctness was not important, nor was the use of complete sentences. Informants were encouraged to write answers to the direct attitude experiment using one word answers if possible (i.e. using adjectives) and that use of an English language dictionary was permitted if informants were not sure of descriptive vocabulary. However, adjectives listed in dictionaries may fail to truly express informants' opinions and direct translation between languages may not be entirely accurate in meaning or social connotation. In future, it would be useful to complete a similar study in the informants' first language, and to interpret descriptions in collaboration with a native speaker of the informants' first language to reduce uncertainty about informants' meaning.

The collection of data was not always identical. In some cases, classes of roughly 30 informants completed the survey at a time (Xi'an Jiaotong Liverpool University; Aoyama Gakuin University; Gachon University). In other universities, the survey was completed in bigger groups (Hongik University, Kansai University), and in one university, surveys were completed in small groups of 1-10 at a time (University of Nottingham Ningbo China). While not ideal, due to the large scale of the study, the author could utilise only the methods that the universities allowed for data collection.

Nevertheless, an identical procedure was used for the implementing of each survey regardless of the number of informants completing the survey (see Chapter 4).

7.2.3 Analyses of results

The cross-cultural comparative nature of the present study resulted in challenges in analysing the collected data. For instance, in order to quantify the descriptions given for each national group in the direct attitude experiment, it was necessary to compute a score that represented informants' descriptions upon a continuum from positive to negative (see Section 5.3.2). The fact that each informant was required to give descriptions for three national groups (including their own) thus complicated the calculation. An overall attitude score was calculated for each informant (in terms of positive-negative), with the aim of investigating the possible effect of the explicit attitudes upon the implicit attitudes measured in the study. Therefore, the data used to determine whether or not explicit attitudes (i.e. stereotypes) elicited had any effect upon the speaker evaluations, was the overall level of positivity/negativity held by each informant towards all three national groups combined. This is problematic because attitudes towards each national group were likely to be different i.e. more positive descriptions may have been elicited for an informants' own national group and this may have affected the overall score towards all three national groups. Nevertheless, the results of the direct attitude experiment proved to be useful and interesting in the context of the present study. Future studies may wish to focus upon stereotypes towards a specific national group and the effect that this has upon a speaker from the same national group membership.

Categorising the descriptions given by informants in the direct attitude experiment was problematic due to the often ambiguous nature of a number of the descriptions given. The author was required to judge which descriptions were intended as positive descriptions and which were intended as negative descriptions for the purpose of quantifying attitudinal descriptions for analyses (giving scores of +1 to positive descriptions and -1 to negative descriptions). In order to make the process more transparent, the author gave scores of zero to any descriptions that were considered to be ambiguous, descriptive and/or neutral, thus minimising any misunderstanding in intended meaning (see Section 5.3.2).

7.2.4 Timing of the study

The study is clearly a snapshot of language attitudes at a particular point in time, thus the timing of the study may have had an effect upon the evaluations and descriptions of the Chinese, the Japanese and the Korean informants towards each other. Long-running territorial disputes in the area were prevalent in the media at the time that the study was conducted (September – November 2012), and may have strengthened negative attitudes recorded in the study.

The territorial dispute between China and Japan concerns uninhabited islands off the north coast of Taiwan named the Senkaku Islands in Japan and Diaoyu Islands in China. Although the ownership of the islands has been long disputed, the most recent disagreements began in April 2012, when the Japanese government expressed an interest in using government money to buy the islands from then Japanese private owners (McCurry, 2012). This resulted in anti-Japanese protests in large cities throughout China, which further escalated when the Japanese government agreed a deal with the private owners in September 2012 (Ryall, 2012). A number of demonstrations spiralled out of control, resulting in vandalism, criminal acts and ransacking of Japanese-owned businesses (BBC, 2012), which prompted numerous Japanese factories and businesses to temporarily close (Blanchard & Slodkowski, 2012). At the time that the study was conducted, media coverage of the territorial dispute was still very high, especially within China.

However, despite the anti-Japanese sentiment presented in the media, the present study revealed generally positive attitudes among Chinese informants towards a Japanese speaker of English (see Section 5.2.2), and positive descriptions of Japanese nationals (see Section 5.3.1). It is felt important to highlight that the informants that participated in the present study in China were young educated adults in British-affiliated universities in China and are not considered to be a representative sample of Chinese nationals. A wider global attitudes study in 2013 revealed that Chinese attitudes towards the Japanese government were very negative (Pew Research Center, 2013). Furthermore, a bilateral public opinion survey conducted in China and Japan also showed that 92.8% of Chinese informants from a 1540 informants sample indicated that they have a negative impression of Japan, with 77.6% of informants citing the territorial disputes as a reason (Genron-NPO, 2013). However, it was not clear whether the study was aimed at measuring

attitudes towards the Japanese government or the Japanese as a national group. In comparison with the studies cited above, the high evaluations of the Japanese speaker of English, and favourable descriptions elicited from the Chinese informants in the present study suggest that informants in China may hold different attitudes towards the Japanese government than they hold towards Japanese people, and that attitudes studies should be clear about what attitudes they aim to measure.

Similarly the territorial dispute between South Korea and Japan concerns uninhabited islands off the south coast of the Korean peninsula named Takeshima in Japan and Dokdo in South Korea. Again, the dispute is long-running, but the escalation of the China-Japan dispute in 2012 brought it back to the attention of the media, which resulted in politicking in South Korea as former President Lee Myung-bak visited the island in August 2012 (Choe, 2012), and anti-Japanese protests in Seoul.

The author believes that, although the territorial disputes may have played a part in the attitudes reported in the present study, (negative) attitudes elicited may simply have been amplified rather than changed as a result of the diplomatic tensions. However, in the absence of similar comparative cross-cultural attitude studies in China, Japan and Korea, it is impossible to know to what degree the territorial disputes may have affected the attitudes (if at all) in the present study. A more in-depth comparison between the abovementioned recent attitude surveys and the present study is provided in Section 6.2).

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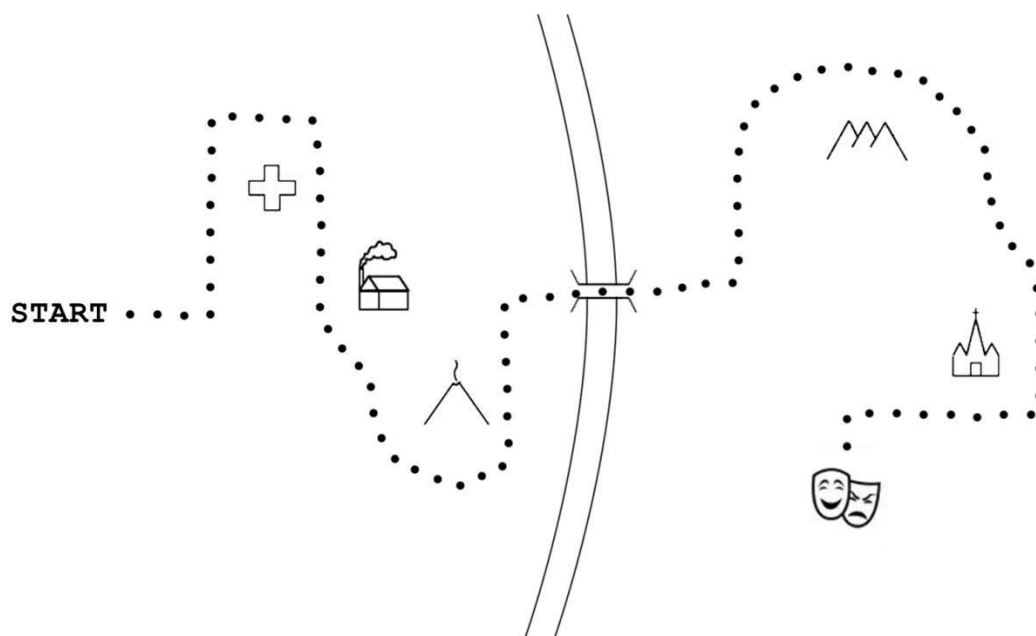
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Appendices

A. The map task

Figure 12: The map task (used as speech stimulus)



Map items from left to right: hospital, factory, volcano, bridge (over a river), mountains, church, theatre

B. Principal components analysis

Figure 13: A scree plot indicating the evaluative dimensions on which speakers were judged (eigenvalue above 1 represent an evaluate dimension)

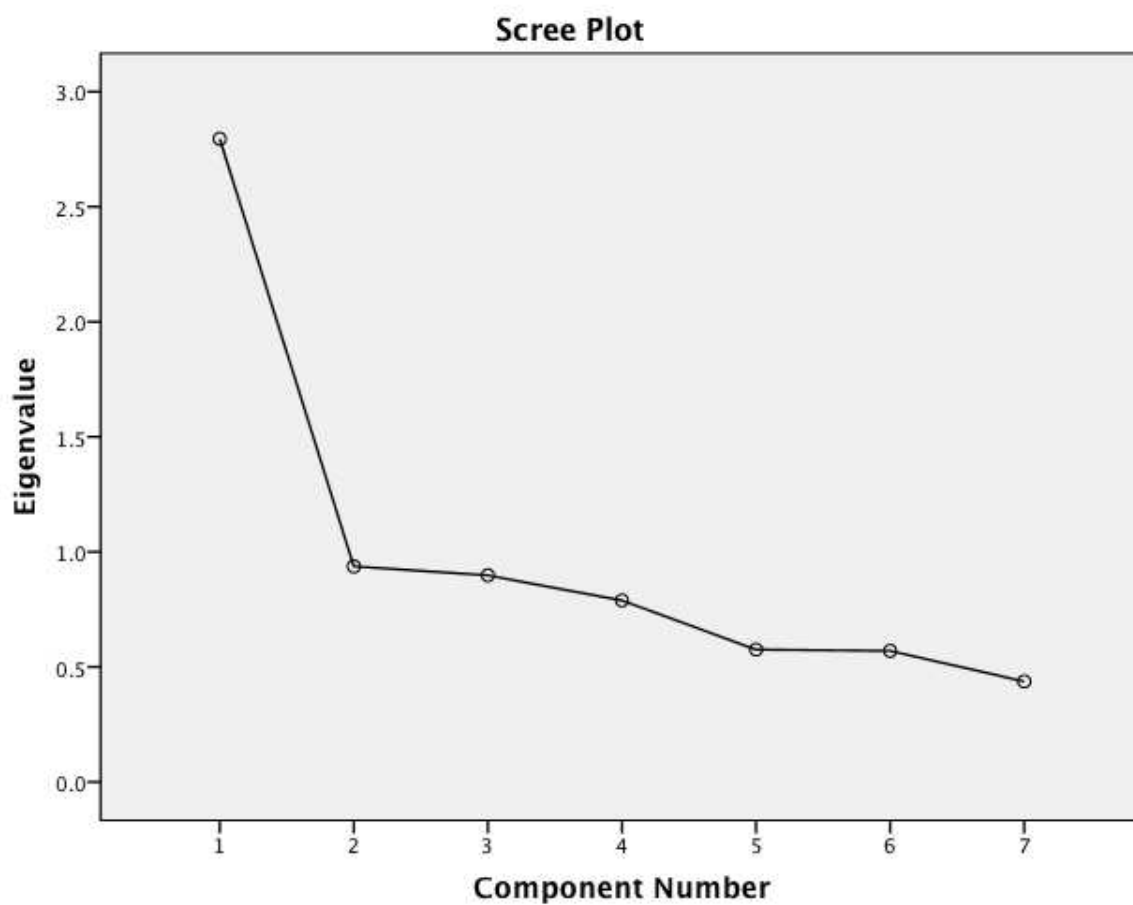


Table 42: Comparison of eigenvalues from PCA and criterion values from parallel analysis

Component number	Actual eigenvalue from PCA	Criterion value from parallel analysis	Decision
1	2.795	1.1633	accept
2	0.936	1.0902	reject
3	0.898	1.0417	reject
4	0.789	0.9976	reject
5	0.575	0.9529	reject
6	0.570	0.9055	reject
7	0.437	0.8487	reject

C. The survey

1 of 5



Northumbria University Research Project

The information given will be used for a university project only. It will be treated with the strictest confidence and will be used for no other purpose. This is not a test.



PART 1

Listen to the recordings. Think about the speaker, what type of person are they? Circle a number on each of the criteria below.

(Example: 1 = very confident; 7 = very unconfident)

Recording 1

	confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unconfident	
	unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	friendly	
	cute	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not cute	
	young	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	old	
	clear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unclear	
	tired	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	energetic	
	happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unhappy	

Recording 2

	confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unconfident	
	unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	friendly	
	cute	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not cute	
	young	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	old	
	clear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unclear	
	tired	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	energetic	
	happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unhappy	

Recording 3

	confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unconfident	
	unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	friendly	
	cute	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not cute	
	young	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	old	
	clear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unclear	
	tired	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	energetic	
	happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unhappy	

Please turn over





Recording 4

	confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unconfident	
	unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	friendly	
	cute	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not cute	
	young	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	old	
	clear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unclear	
	tired	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	energetic	
	happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unhappy	

Recording 5

	confident	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unconfident	
	unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	friendly	
	cute	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not cute	
	young	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	old	
	clear	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unclear	
	tired	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	energetic	
	happy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unhappy	

**PART 2**

Listen to the recordings again. What country is each speaker from?

	Country
Recording 1	
Recording 2	
Recording 3	
Recording 4	
Recording 5	



PART 3

Look at the map below. Follow the instructions:

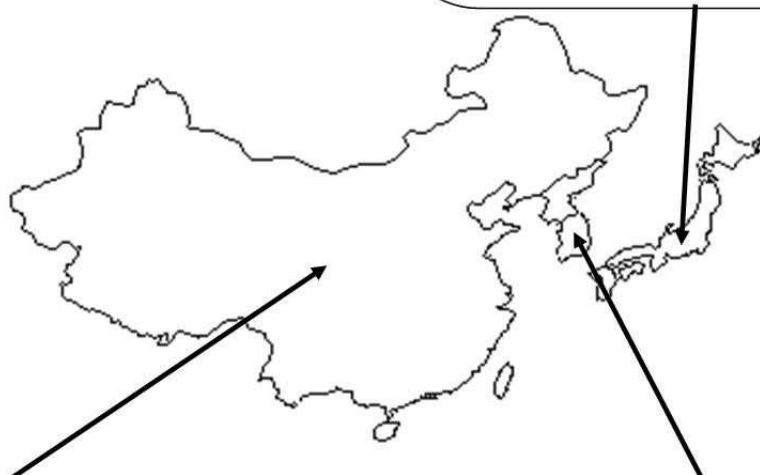
1. Write the name of the highlighted country.

2. In the boxes

a) describe the personality of someone from each country

b) describe the way people from that country speak English

1	Country: _____
2 a)	
b)	



1	Country: _____
2 a)	
b)	

1	Country: _____
2 a)	
b)	



PART 4: Background information

Section 1: Personal details

Gender (M/F): _____ Date of birth (yyyy/mm/dd): _____ / _____ / _____

Nationality: _____

Section 2: Education

Subject of study: _____

Programme (tick one): Undergraduate ☐ Postgraduate ☐

Section 3: English study

How long have you studied English? _____ (years)

Thank you for your participation!

D. Informants courses of study

Art & Design: architecture (9); fashion design (1); graphic design (1); industrial design (1); interactive media (1); interior architecture (2); landscape architecture (2); software development (1); urban planning (1)

Business: business (21); business administration (7); business and the arts (15); economics (56); finance/accounting (19); international business (17); international/mass communications (37); international trade/commerce (26); management (4); marketing (1)

Engineering: architecture engineering (1); chemical engineering (3); civil engineering (1); computer engineering (1); electrical engineering (22); energy IT (4); engineering (23); environmental energy engineering/environmental studies (4); life sciences (3); mechanical engineering (4);

E.G. (5)

Health: food & nutrition (2)

Humanities & the Arts: applied linguistics (8); education (1); English (12); English literature (8); history (1); international politics (14); international studies (6); journalism/news & broadcasting (2); Korean (2); languages (Chinese; French; Japanese; Spanish) (5); liberal studies (1); public administration (2); sociology (22); psychology (25); tourism (1)

Law: law (86)

Sciences: biochemistry (1); biology (2); chemistry (6); commercial sciences (10); computer science (1); life bionics (1); mathematics (9); nanotechnology/bionanotechnology (2); physics (1); science (7);

E. Geographical regions categorised by country

Geographical region and composition of each region (according to UN groupings) (United Nations, 2013)

Asia

Eastern Asia – China; China, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region; Macao, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region; Democratic People's Republic of Korea; Japan; Mongolia; Republic of Korea

Southern Asia – Afghanistan; Bangladesh; Bhutan; India; Iran (Islamic Republic of); Maldives; Nepal; Pakistan; Sri Lanka

South-Eastern Asia – Brunei Darussalam; Cambodia; Indonesia; Lao People's Democratic Republic; Malaysia; Myanmar; Philippines; Singapore; Thailand; Timor-Leste; Viet Nam

Europe

Eastern Europe - Belarus; Bulgaria; Czech Republic; Hungary; Poland; Republic of Moldova; Romania; Russian Federation; Slovakia; Ukraine

Northern Europe - Åland Islands; Channel Islands; Denmark; Estonia; Faeroe Islands; Finland; Guernsey; Iceland; Ireland; Isle of Man; Jersey; Latvia; Lithuania; Norway; Sark; Svalbard and Jan Mayen Islands; Sweden; United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland

Western Europe – Austria; Belgium; France; Germany; Liechtenstein; Luxembourg; Monaco; Netherlands; Switzerland

Americas

Northern America – Bermuda; Canada; Greenland; Saint Pierre and Miquelon; United States of America

F. Main effects of explicit attitudes upon implicit attitudes

Figure 14: Mean evaluation scores given to Chinese speaker of English according to direct attitudes of informants

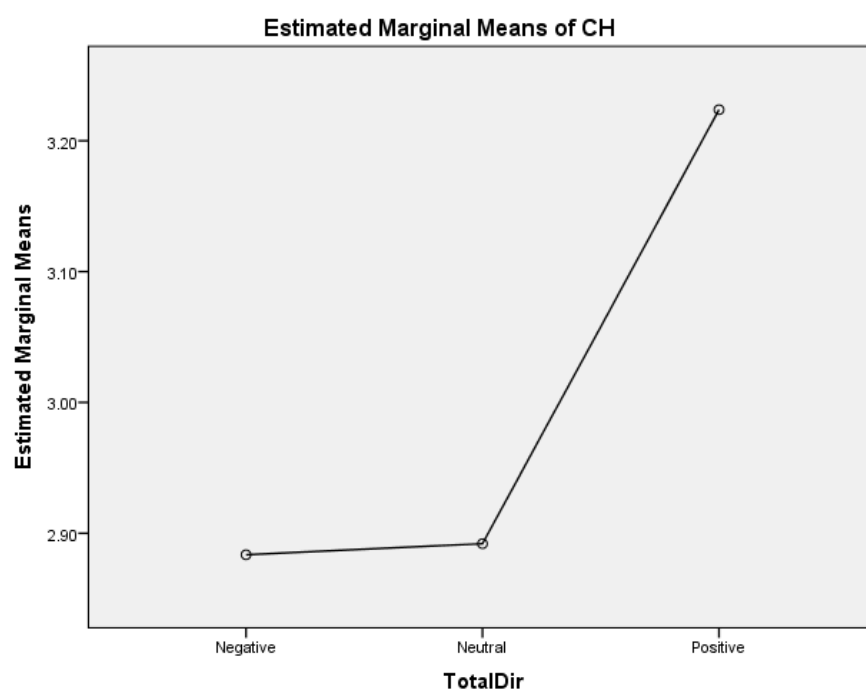
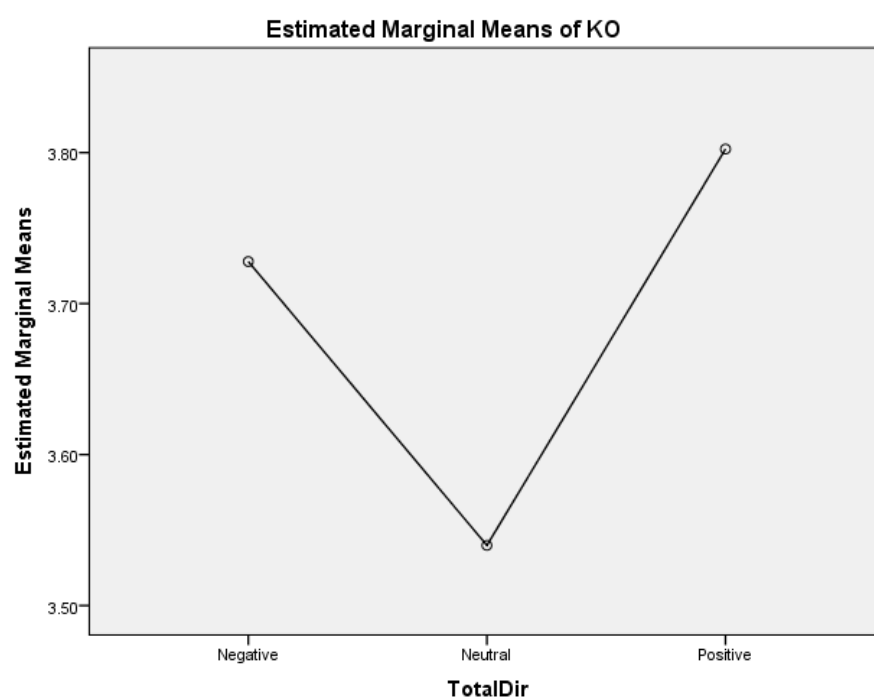


Figure 15: Mean evaluation scores given to Korean speaker of English according to direct attitudes of informants



G. Interaction effect – nationality*ability to identify speakers

Figure 16: Mean evaluation score accorded to the HK speaker by the Japanese informants according to the their ability to identify the country of origin of the speakers

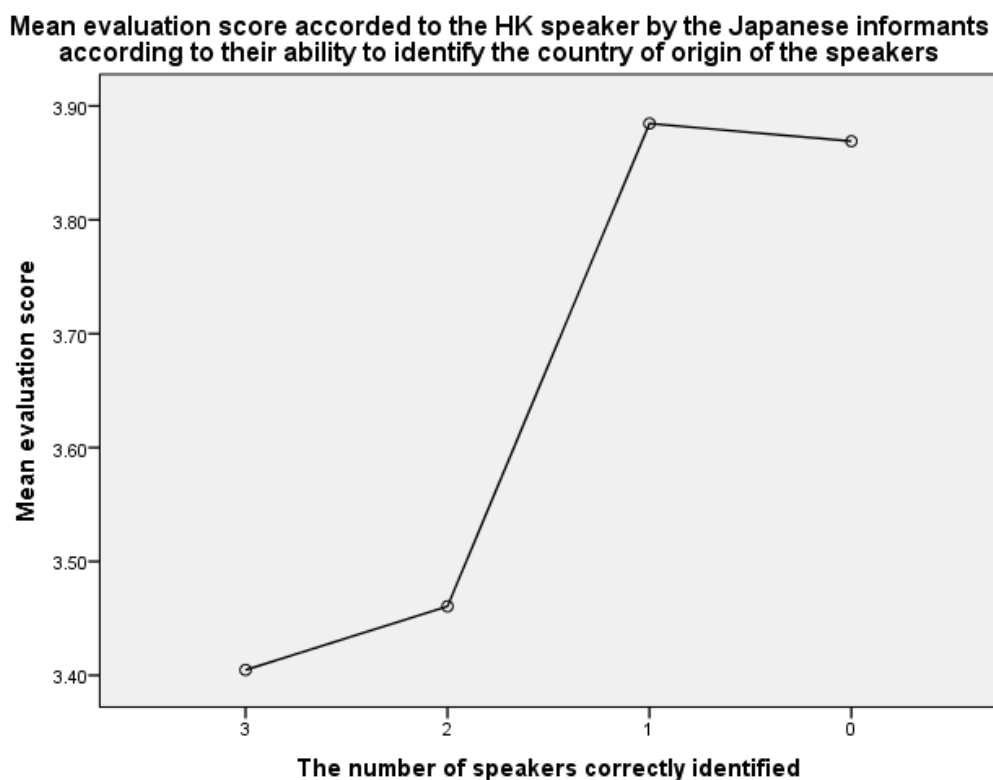


Figure 17: Mean evaluation score accorded to the KR speaker by the Japanese informants according to the their ability to identify the country of origin of the speakers

